

THE
INTRIGUES
= OF THE
Court of Rome
FOR THESE
SEVEN or EIGHT
YEARS past.

Written Originally in French,

By a *French Gentleman*, who
lived with a Publick Character
several Years at that *Court*.

Now Rendered into English.

L O N D O N,
Printed in the Year 1679.

THE
ARTICLES
OF THE
CONFERENCE
SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES

By a Select Committee,
of the General Assembly,
of the Church of Scotland,
in the Year 1792.

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(5)
MEMOIRES

O F
The Time,
O R

Discourses of the *Intrigues*
O F T H E
Court of Rome.

CHAP. I.

*Touching the particular Reign of Clement
X. Emilio Altieri, and the Ministe-
ry of Cardinal Palazzi Altieri.*



Take not upon me in this
place fully to Discuss the trou-
bles and Perplexity of the
Conclave of 1670. which last-
ed above four months, and in-
to which Cardinal *Emilio Altieri* entered,
with others of his Promotion, before he had
appeared

appeared in Purple, because he was raised to that Dignity few dayes before the death of *Clement IX.*

It is however necessary to know by what Intrigue that good Old Man came to be Pope, for the better understanding of what hath succeeded since his exaltation, wherein his share has been as small, as it was in the conduct of the whole Government of his Reign.

Pope Clement IX. Julio Rossigliosi having not long survived the loss of *Candie*, for the preservation of which place, the sole Bulwark of *Europe* against the enterprises of the *Turk*, he had laboured joyntly with *France*; the suddenness of his death gave no time to the Cardinals to settle their Factions, and forme Parties for the Election of a Successor.

But, after the usual Ceremonies of Funeral, they entered the Conclave, *December the 20th. 1669.* and that very night the Conclave was shut, rather to observe the Formalities, than seriously to set to work about a new Election.

The Cardinals, that lived remote from *Rome*, were to be expected, especially those of *France* and *Spain*, who were to bring with them the Sentiments of those Crowns, concerning the Election of the Pope.

Insomuch

Infomuch, that for above the space of five weeks they did no more but look on one another in the Conclave. After the arrival of the Duke of *Channes*, and the Cardinals of *Rets* and *Bonillon*, the *Spaniards*, nettled at the long delay made in expectation of the *French*, without doing of any business industriously protracted the coming of Cardinal *Portocarrero*, to let the world see, that the same respect was had for the *Spanish* Nation, as had been shewed for *France*.

All the Cardinals being at last met, did but slowly advance the dispatch of Affaires, because Cardinal *Chigi* had framed a design of raising his Kinsman Cardinal *d'Elci* to the Papacy; and had promised him rather to burst in the Conclave, than to give his Vote to another.

The *French* Faction joyned to those of the *Rospigliosi* and *Barbarini*, with many others that feared to fall again under a Papacy like to that of *Alexander VII.* (which would have happened, if *d'Elci* had been made Pope) vigorously opposed the Project of *Chigi*. Nevertheless they would not openly give the Exclusion to *d'Elci*, because in the speech that the Duke of *Channe* made to the Cardinals, when he appeared in the Conclave, he freely protested, that he had

brought no orders from *France* for the exclusion of any, and that the King his Master gave full liberty to the Cardinals to choose whom they should think best ; for he took them all to be persons of so much Integrity and Virtue, that they would take no resolution, but what was for the honour of the Holy See, and good of the Church.

The Ambassadour of *Spain* failed not to make the same Declaration in the name of the King his Master, as he was obliged to do, though he had had contrary Orders, that he might not render the *Spanish* Faction odious.

But, that Protestation on the part of the *French* was made more out of Policy, than on any other ground: because, notwithstanding their exclusion, it had sometimes happened, that he, to whom they had given it, had been for all that elected ; and the same thing might have happened in the case of Cardinal *d'Elci*, whom they saw designed for the Papacy by *Chigi*, with the *Spaniards* and *Florentins* united together.

For this reason they would not venture absolutely to exclude *d'Elci* from his pretensions ; and this encouraged *Chigi* still in his design, until Cardinal *d'Este*, in his usu-

al ingenuous manner, declared himself very civilly to *Chigi*. Meeting him one day in the Conclave, he told him, "Well, my Lord Cardinal *Chigi*, what do we do here? "Why don't you give us a Pope? *Chigi* answered him, we have one ready, when you please, adding, that they could not do better, than adhere to *d'Elci*: Cardinal *d'Este* made use of this opportunity to make *Chigi* lay aside that thought, saying, *Non diamo di grazia questo fastidio à quel buon vecchio*; that is, Let us not, I beseech you, give that good old man that trouble: that was an exclusion express enough, couched in obscure termes, to let *Chigi* and his party know, that their design of making *d'Elci* Pope would not succeed, and that if he should be proposed without effect, it would be a means to encrease his distemper, seeing he was already ill, and had not come into the Conclave, probably because of his indisposition; probably also that he might avoid the sting of that usual Proverb, *He that goes Pope into the Conclave, comes out Cardinal*; *Chi entra Papa esce Cardinale*.

What influence soever that Declaration of Cardinal *d'Este* ought to have had, which was free enough, for so reserved a man as he; yet Cardinal *Chigi* was not at
all

all discouraged by it, and he never laid aside his thoughts of making *d'Elci* Pope, until that good Cardinal was dead.

After his death, that *Chigi* might not obstinately persist to make one of his own creatures Pope, Cardinal *Vidoni*, whom (as it was known) *Chigi* feared, was brought upon the Stage, and was long proposed.

It was said, that the *French* bestirred themselves seriously in the matter; but it is rather to be presumed, that being perswaded it would not succeed, they proposed *Vidoni*, to tire out *Chigi*, and to put him in the wrong, and by the same means to make his Party distrust him, by letting them see his repugnancy to consent to the Exaltation of one of his own creatures.

However it be, there were many things that crossed the election of *Vidoni*: he was taxed of being interested, and of an odd humour; that he was not affable, not respectful towards the Nobility, and rude to the poorer sort of people. Besides, it was his original sin, as to *Chigi*, that he was nominated to the Cardinalship by the King of *Poland*: and though he was a creature of *Alexander VII.* yet he had no other obligation to him for his Purple, but that of being sent by him Nuncio into *Poland*. Upon the

the same consideration it was judged, that the *Spaniards* would oppose his Promotion, because they had reason to apprehend, that the King of *Poland* had got him created for his Interest; and the same King being at that time retired into *France*, after he had laid down the Crown, the *French*, by his means, would have had too much credit under his Papacy.

This Proposition of *Vidoni* continued long in debate, because neither *Chigi* nor the *Spaniards*, durst openly give him the exclusion: which, at last, the *Spaniards* did, though, out of fear, least time might bring that Project to take effect, and Cardinal *Chigi* himself did dextrously engage the *Spaniards* to do so.

Some others were also proposed, rather to know one anothers thoughts, than out of any design to have them elected Popes.

Nevertheless Cardinal *Brancaccio* was spoken of in good earnest; but the *Spaniards*, who forgot nothing, and had fresh in mind what he had done at *Naples*, in complaisance to *Urban VIII.* against the Ministers of *Spain*, formed a Faction against him.

The *French* would have been cordially for him, though he was a *Neapolitane*; and certainly it was a very good choice, to fill

St. Peters Chaire with a worthy Successor, as well because of his Learning, Virtue, and the inclination he had for Scholars, as upon the account of the worth of his Kindred, who were by all men acknowledged to be Gentlemen of credit and integrity.

So many Cardinals of all Factions having been thus proposed, all such as were capable of being Popes, were afraid of nothing more than to be brought upon the Stage, and to come in play, because it was a prejudice to their fortune; it being almost impossible, that a Cardinal, who hath been proposed in a Conclave, can recover of the blow that is given him, or ever hope to raise himself again. And, experience shews us, that most part of the Cardinals, who have been proposed, and have had many voices, die under the Pontificate of him that hath been elected to their Exclusion.

Thus again above a Month they looked upon one another, without doing any thing: until the season beginning to advance, and grow hot; and perceiving that they could live no longer shut up, and that even many fell sick; they resolved at last in good earnest to give a Pope to the Church. And because the heads of the Factions found themselves disappointed of making such a
Pope

Pope as they desired, they bethought themselves to make one provisionally, and sequestrate the Papacy into the hands of some old man, from whom no long Reign could be expected, and who might only give them time to make their Factions better against the time of a new Conclave.

In this resolution *Barbarini* and *Chigi*, who were wholly opposite, and who had given one another to understand, that they would burst rather than yield, came at length to a conference together: *Barbarini* declared in short, that he was willing that *Chigi* should propose, whom he pleased, of the Creatures of *Rospigliosi*, that is, of those of the new Colledge.

Chigi desired time to think upon it, for he had no ground to dislike the Proposition, seeing he had had the greatest share in the Reign of *Clement IX.* and he found none that was more at his devotion, than Cardinal *Emilio Altieri*.

His age of fourscore years was fit for the Sequestration; his easie and tractable humor, made him hope to have a great share in the management of affairs: his kindred were in a degree so remote, that none of them were known, except a Grandchild, who was lately married to the *Sieur Gasparo Paluzzi*, Brother to the Cardinal of
that

that name, who is at present Regnant. Besides this, all the heads of Factions had reason enough to be satisfied with Cardinal *Altieri*. *Barbarini* found in him an ancient creature of his Uncle *Urban VIII.* who raised him to the Prelacy. The *Florentins*, who made the greatest part of the Court of *Rome*, by reason of so many Popes, almost, successively of their Nation, found in him a friend and old servant of the Great Duke their Prince. The *French*, the *Rospigliosi*, and their adherents, had a Creature of *Clement IX.* who promoted him to the Cardinalship, and to whom he owed his fortune. The *Spaniards* did not so much regard his person, as that of Cardinal *Paluzzi*, who was entirely at their Devotion, and who could not fail of being Cardinal Regnant, because of *Gasparo Paluzzi* his Brother, who was the Grandchild of *Altieri*. And this last consideration absolutely prevailed with *Chigi*, because Cardinal *Paluzzi* was the Creature of his Uncle *Alexander* the VII. In a word, all Christendom found in him a Pope, against whose manners none could take exception; there were, none but the Squadron *Volant*, made up of a good number of Cardinals, creatures of *Innocent X.* that judged the Promotion of *Altieri* to the Papacy, to be contrary

trary to their Interest, because he might resent the persecution of *Innocent X.* that Faction was more to be feared than all the rest together, not so much for the number of voices, as the quality of those that composed it; the Cardinal *Borromei, Pio, Imperiali, Azzolini* and *Ostoboni*, the greatest Cabalists of all the Colledge, were the heads thereof.

Chigi being now resolved to consent to the election of *Altieri*, discoursed the matter with *Barbarini*, who made a strong party of the *French* and the *Rospigliosi*, as *Chigi* on the other hand of the *Florentines* and *Spaniards*: but he foresaw some difficulty on the side of the Squadronists, and besides, could hardly resolve to make a Pope, without acquainting them therewith. Nevertheless, *Barbarini* did so effectually represent unto him, that he ought to pass by that consideration, and that to discover the project to those of the Squadron, would be the way to overthrow it; that *Chigi* consented, though with great reluctance, to break his word which he had given them, not to make any Pope, that they should dislike.

Matters being thus carried on with much secrecy, they agreed on all the Articles of the Treaty, the most important for *Chigi* and

and the *Spaniards*; was to make sure of the quality of Nephew in favour of *Paluzzi*: and though *Barbarini* might have ground to except against that, yet he seemed to give his consent, as believing he should be able to cross that Establishment, after the creation of the Pope, by the credit that he promised himself with *Altieri*.

There remained now no more, but to declare *Altieri* Pope, they had more than three Fourths of the voices, of which commonly two Thirds is sufficient; and, except the Squadronists, all the parties followed *Barbarini* and *Chigi*; nevertheless they durst not commit a matter of such importance to the ordinary Scrutiny, lest the Squadronists should discover the Intrigue, or lest those whom they might suspect, should fail them; because in the Scrutiny, one may give his voice for whom he pleases, and no man know it, and it happens daily, that you have the Canons for you, and all the Chapter against you, so that they took the course to declare him by way of inspiration, which was done *April 29*. For after the usual Scrutiny, which was made every morning, and which was that day performed in course; as every one was going out of the Chappel to return to their Cels until dinner time, a voice was heard all over the Conclave,

Altier

Altieri Papa, Altieri Papa. This concert began by *Barbarini, Chigi, Rospigliosi, Medici, Este*, and all the rest of their party seconded, *Altieri Papa, Altieri Papa.* This was a clap of thunder for the Squadron *Volant*; but perceiving, that all with one voice proclaimed *Altieri Pope*, that it was a laid designe, and that their repugnancy could not at all hinder it, they mingled their voices with the rest, and altogether ran to the chamber of *Altieri*, where every one strove to strip him of his cloaths, that they might invest him in the Pontifical Ornaments.

And thus was that good old man made Pope, who took the name of *Clement*, in memory of his Predecessor, to whom he was indebted for his Promotion.

The first action the Pope did, before he went down to *St. Peters Church*, was, to declare Cardinal *Paluzzi* by Adoption, the Nephew of his Family, obliging him to take the name of *Altieri*, and the Arms of the House, which are six Stars Argent in a Field Azure, with a bordure Argent; to name for Datary Mons. *Carpegna* a Roman, who was then Auditor of the Rota; and to make Mons. *Frederick Boromei* a Milanese, Secretary of State. These are the three most considerable places, which the Popes, upon their assumption to the Pontificate

tificate, bestow commonly upon their greatest Confidants.

The choice that the Pope made of Cardinal *Paluzzi*, and his Adoption into the Family of *Altieri*, gave all men occasion of discoursing, and of framing different judgments of the Papacy, according as passion, or the opinion they had of this Nephew, afforded them matter : some making reflexion on the poverty of his House, which had but small Rents, and great Debts, and was drained in purchasing to him the Office of Auditor of the Chamber, and on the genius of the *Romans*, naturally inclined to raise money by any way whatsoever, expected no great matters under that Government, but rather all kinds of low, base doings and Extorsions.

Others to flatter themselves with the hopes of better fortune, corrected that presage by the consideration of the very condition of *Paluzzi*, who being nothing at all related to the Pope in Blood, and his employment having no other foundation, but the favour of an Adoption, would be obliged for preserving himself in his place, to behave himself with great moderation, to content all people, to make friends, or at least to make no enemies, and not to give men cause of murmuring, who would bear less

less respect to him, than for the real Nephew of a Pope; that he had a fresh example before his eyes of Cardinal *Astalli*, whose Nepotisme being like his own, lasted not long under *Innocent* X. who being displeased at his Conduct, as ignominiously removed him from his Person, as he had gloriously called him to his Promotion.

Some again, considering the old age of the Pope, and his humour, easie to be governed, thought they had more ground to say, that the Adoptive Nephew would entertain no other thoughts, but to make his best of the short time that he could expect under such a Pontificate, by using all endeavors to raise his Family, and settle his Fortune; that he would find the less difficulty in it, for that he had to do with a Pope easie to be governed, who was so aged, as to have no other thoughts but to live in quietness, and to leave the management of affairs to those that should be about him: that there was an instance of a like Pontificate of Pope *Ludovico*, named *Gregory* XV. under whom, in the space of two years, his kindred had heaped up vast Treasures and Riches, built Palaces, bought Lands and Principalities, by ways known to all men.

In

In a word, every one reasoned after their own manner, in a Court where men more than in any other, pretend to dive into what is to come, and where for that end, they often go as far as superstition, in consulting some, who report things to come, either by Astrologie, or by some other far less allowed, and more dishonest Art.

It was not long before men came to be clearly informed of what they might expect under that Pontificate, because at the very first, Cardinal *Paluzzi* (whom we shall hereafter call *Altieri*) took his measures to dispose of all things, without so much as acquainting the Pope, till after he had done what seemed best to himself.

This is so true, that in the beginning of his Ministry some having presented to the Pope, Petitions, for obtaining of Favours from his Holiness in the Audiences which he gives all men, during the first days of his Exaltation, and having obtained of his Holiness himself, a favourable Order: when the Will and Pleasure of the Pope, was to be put in execution and fulfilled, Cardinal *Altieri* gave the denial, said, That his Holiness had been surprised; and when he was pressed, by replying to him, that his Holiness had been very well informed of the matter of Fact, he

he stood not to say, to the great contempt of the Pope, that his memory was bad, and that he remembred not that he was already engaged to another; insomuch, that there were several persons to whom the Pope had given Charges, Offices, or Benefices, who never came to enjoy them, because Cardinal *Altieri* had given them away to others.

But because that began already to make some noise at *Rome*, and occasioned scandal to the Church and dishonour to the Holy See; Cardinal *Altieri* to remedy that, and at the sametime better to secure his absolute power, gave expresse Orders to the Master of his Holynesses Chamber, and to all others that were about him, to let none have access to the Pope without his knowledge, especially such as had any memorial to present unto him.

By this way of Conduct he kept the Pope besieged, under pretext of easing him of the trouble of giving so many Audiences; and to spare, said he, the old age of his Holiness, which could not bear up under so many troubles and cares.

In the mean time, they who were jealous of the fortune of Cardinal *Altieri*, failed not to make advantage of his Conduct; they taxed his Government as injurious to the

Holy See, tyrannical towards the People, odious to the Prelacy, and ignominious to the Pope himself: that he had brought his Holiness to hear none but such as spoke by his mouth, that he might establish to himself a Monopoly, and keep his Holiness from the knowledge of his actions; that he abused the easiness and goodness of the Pope; that he intended to have a Pope in Effigie, that had ears and heard not, and a mouth and spake not; and to render the matter more notorious, some took the boldness to write upon the Popes chamber door, under his Holiness Picture this biting Pasquinade, *Qui sto per insegna*. Which signified, that the Pope served only for a Signe.

There were but few that were not offended at the conduct of the Nephew Regnant; virtuous men living at *Rome*, who applied themselves to honest courses, in hopes of some reward, lost their courage, when they perceived, that no Benefice, how considerable soever, came to be vacant, but that Cardinal *Altieri* snapt it up, even small Chapels of ten Crowns of Rent; the Prelates saw the way of attaining Governments and other Charges, block'd up against merit, that it began to be open to Bribery, and that they were distributed amongst those that offer'd most money; that for that purpose

pose there were a kind of men established in the Palace, who in that Court are called *Senzali*, and are in plain English, *Brokers*, to treat under hand with those that presented themselves, or might pretend to vacant Benefices.

The Popes true and natural kindred, discovered themselves in great number, since his exaltation, whilst when he was but a simple and poor Prelate, he had not so much as one kinsman: and he himself said, that he did not believe he had had so many; that he had never found one in the time of his need; that in the necessity to which *Innocent X.* had reduced him, no body had offered him assistance; and that now in his grandure he found almost as many Relations as he had Townsmen: that great number of kindred complained no less than others, of the adoptive Nephew, who allowed them no share, either in the Government or other affairs, except some of the House of *Massimi*, whom he had preferred.

The Colledge of Cardinals were divided; but hardly was any of them content to depend on the Nephew, for that which they might pretend immediately of the Pope, and though they could not be openly denied access to his Holiness, yet it was rendered as difficult as might be, in so much as to make them

them wait whole hours in the Antichamber, or to put them off till another time: and whensoever any one was introduced to speak to his Holiness, he had Cardinal *Altieri* still by his side, who left him not the freedom of speaking confidently, but by an importune and troublesome civility kept always close by him: or if it happened, that any one had Audience, and spoke freely to the Pope, his reception was cold, and with indifferency.

But though all men were discontented, yet none durst break out: Cardinal *Altieri* had the advantage, that there was no other publick Minister at *Rome*, but the Marquis of *Altorga* the *Spanish* Ambassador, who was more diligent in making his Courtship to the Courtesans of the Town, than to the Courtiers of the Palace: beside, he might promise himself all things of the humor of *Altieri*, for the *Spanish* Nation. The *French* Ambassador, the Cardinals of *Pers* and *Boillon* were gone for *France*, immediately after the Conclave: the Cardinal of *Este*, who used to make the Popes kindred tremble, tho' they were protected under the Throne, and supported by the Pontifical Scepter, was likewise retired into his own Countrey. Cardinal *Murina* lay languishing upon a sick bed, so that there was none that in a general

neral discontent, could support a vigorous resolution. The Squadron *Volant* troubled not themselves, they let matters take their ordinary course, contenting themselves to make parties, and form projects for a future Pope, never imagining, that he, who Reigned, might have health enough to bury them all, as he has done most of them.

There was none but Cardinal *Barbarini*, Dean of the Sacred Colledge, that could undertake any thing for worsting the great power of *Altieri*. It is needless to speak here of his credit, all men know it, for all he is so hidden in his actions, and that he is the fittest man in the world to make parties (which the *Italians* call *Vipieghi*) the most expert in managing of them, the most dextrous in dissembling them, and the most reserved in setting them at work; that none fights better in giving ground; none hath more back doors to escape at; and no man appears fresher after the engagement than he, without troubling, or disturbing himself, without any show, unless it be in publick and conspicuous actions, wherein he is all fire and noise even to confusion; there being nothing else to be found fault with in his manners, the integrity whereof has always triumphed over the most crafty detraction, which is hardly to be paralleled,

yea, and almost impossible in a Court of Rome; unless it be a little heat and passion with his servants, which tends nevertheless to their advantage, because he has no sooner been rough with them, but that he instantly rewards them; which makes men say, that it is more pleasure to be chid by Cardinal *Barbarini*, than to be praised and caressed by him. He was not well satisfied, as we have already said, about the end of the Conclave, at the choice that was made of Cardinal *Paluzzi*, and he had not consented to it, but upon thoughts of making the Pope change that sentiment, by the credit that he promised himself upon his mind: but so soon, as from the very beginning, he perceived himself very far wide of his project, that the Pope was wholly governed by the new Nephew, that himself had much ado to get to speak to him with all the dependance and grimaces, that it behoved him to make, and many other submissions, that barred him from his pretended confidence: he applied himself to the digging of a Mine (if I may say so) thereby to blow up the Cardinal Regnant, and that he might undermine the foundation of his settlement, he made use of Cardinal *Gabriele*, to whom the fortune of *Paluzzi*, was

was more insupportable, than to any other of the Colledge.

This Cardinal was the Popes kinsman, and by consequence, might pretend to the quality of Nephew, with better right than *Paluzzi*: the Pope would not have been unwilling to have given him a good share in the Government; and if he had been proposed in the Conclave, possibly he would have preferred him to any other: but he was engaged for *Paluzzi*, upon the consideration of *Chigi* and the *Spaniards*; and *Paluzzi* could not admit of a companion to share with him in the Sovereign Authority.

Cardinal *Barbarini* in one of his first Audiences told the Pope, that he was as much concerned in the glory of his Papacy, as he had been active in his Election: that he approved the choice his Holiness had made of Cardinal *Paluzzi*; but that that ought to be no prejudice to those, who by Blood were more closely linked to his Family: that without being obliged to raise new creatures, his Holiness had in the Colledge Cardinal *Gabrieli*, capable of Government, both by his age, and his consummated experience, and more inclined to the interests of the house of *Altieri*, upon the account of Blood, than others upon the consideration of Favour; that the same Cardinal

nal being already in pretty good condition by his management and good Husbandry, would have less need to lavish the Revenues of the Church for maintaining of his rank, and doing credit to the Holy See; that nevertheless all the principal Charges of the Holy See and Palace, were already bestowed on others, and no share given to him; that the Office of Datary, as well as that of Secretary of State were given away; that the Cardinal had great cause to complain, but that his moderation and respect made him stifle his grievances; that the whole Court found fault with it, that it was not his mind to persuade his Holiness to retract what he had already wisely done; that they who possessed the places which he had conferred, worthily discharged them; but that in his opinion, his Holiness had means still left of contenting *Gabrieli*, without injuring others, to wit, by giving him a place near him in the Palace; that that appearance would defend his Honour, which ran hazard by so disadvantageous an exclusion, and a removal from all charges.

The Pope seemed not averse from the sentiments of Cardinal *Barbarini*; and as to that, that he had as yet done nothing for Cardinal *Gabrieli*, he let him know, that he should not want means and occasions, to make

make appear the esteem which he had for his person; that it behoved him in the first place to mind those, who were most pressed; that the Offices of Datary and Secretary of State, were places of too much subjection and fatigue for one of his age, and even in some manner below his merit; that as to the Ministry of Nephew, he neither could, nor ought to have done otherways, for reasons that were very well known: that in a word, it behoved him so to demean himself, that he might give no ground of Jealousie in his Family; and that he hoped his eminence would not a little contribute to the preserving of peace therein.

After this Answer, which was general enough, Cardinal *Barbarini* acquainted *Gabrieli*, that with a little assiduity in making his Court, he might obtain what he would of the Pope; that it behoved him to appear and be seen in the Palace, and that as being a Kinsman he should pass over the Formalities of depending on those of the Chamber for access to his Holiness. In this manner he carried himself for some dayes, and oftner than Cardinal *Altieri* desired; but with much constraint, because hardly could he ever speak to the Pope alone, being beset by Cardinal *Altieri*. He complained

complained of this to Cardinal *Barbarini*, who presently found out an expedient to free him of the presence of *Altieri*. He agreed with *Gabrieli*, that for the future, both of them should go to the Palace at the same hour: that being there, whilst *Gabrieli* should entertain the Pope, he would desire audience of Cardinal *Altieri*, and propose business to him that should keep them long enough in discourse together, that so *Gabrieli* might have time to discover to the Pope all he intended to say, without being interrupted or hindered by the jealousie of *Altieri*. This was practised several times, not without specious pretexts: and that *Gabrieli* might not perceive the Plot, *Barbarini* and *Gabrieli* made use also of other Cardinals and Prelates, their Friends, to carry on the same Intrigue on several occasions.

Gabrieli had already gained a great deal upon the Inclinations of the Pope, who told him, that he would call him to the Palace to entrust him as well as *Altieri* with the care of the Papacy.

It was enough for *Barbarini*, that *Gabrieli* had footing in the Palace: and that being once granted him, like a new *Archimedes*, he would have moved the whole Earth.

complained

But

But Cardinal *Altieri* having discovered the Plot ; whether that the Pope had imparted to him his intentions for *Gabriel*, or that he was Jealous of the Conferences and frequent audiences that the Pope gave to that Competitor ; he could not but at length appear in his colours ; and having, by many devices, rendered the Audiences of *Gabriel* less frequent, so as to have made him one day wait some hours before he could be admitted ; when *Gabriel* complained of it, he told him, that he did indiscreetly abuse the Popes goodness, that his old age ought to be otherwayes dealt with, especially by him, who should be more concerned in that than any body else, as being his Kinsman and Friend ; that when his Holiness called for him, he should be the first to give him notice of it, that he would do best to spare the Popes ease and his own trouble ; with many other Declarations that sufficiently discovered his Jealousie. *Gabriel* found himself obliged by this, either to make a shameful retreat, or down-right to fall out with the Nephew Regnant : because the good Pope was still of his old humour, to receive Impressions alwayes from him that discoursed him last, and in that Cardinal *Altieri* had alwayes the advantage.

He represented to his Holyness, that if he brought *Gabrieli* into the Palace, he would be no longer Master at home; that he must make his Accompts, that *Gabrieli* having footing there, *Barbarini* would be the moving Wheel of all his Actions; and that so in stead of one, he would have two Masters, which would render his Pontificate doubly odious: *Barbarini*, by the aversion which Men of Merit had towards him; and, *Gabrieli*, by his sordid avarice, even to the smallest matters; that though both of them were Men of excellent parts, yet these qualities had alwayes kept them from being chosen Popes.

These, and such like suggestions, put the good old man into an indifferency for his Kinsman; and withal, he considered, that if he conferred his Favours on *Gabrieli*, he must lessen somewhat of those which he designed for *Altieri*; and his Brother, who had taken the same Name and Armes, and whom, by consequent, he was more obliged to advance; because with *Gabrieli*, who was already old, his Liberalities would soon perish, when on the other hand they would continue long in memory with *Paluzzi*.

After all, the adopted Nephew so won upon the Uncle, that he made known
to

to *Gabrieli*, that it was his intention he should let him live in repose; that nevertheless, when occasion offered, he should not forget, by real and satisfactory Markes, to let him know the esteem he had of his Friendship, and Merit, and that he was mindful of the Relation that was betwixt them.

Gabrieli therefore is now in the Field, not with a purpose to retreat, but to give his Enemy open Battel. He goes to the Palace, highly complains that Promises are broken to him in a matter that tended to nothing else, but to testifie his zeal for the Person of the Pope; that Cardinal *Paluzzi* has no right to render himself absolute Master of one to whom he has no relation; that he himself will take the care of his preservation; that that man ought to be distrusted, who has no other interest in his Holiness, but what is obtained by a Foreign Cabal, and who both by Birth and Humour signifies but little: he huffs, and stormes, alarms the whole Palace, and will needs speak to the Pope.

These were the effects of this first heat; In the mean time Cardinal *Altieri* appeared not, but wisely gave him leisure to spit his fire. His Holiness gave him audience, and after a short discourse dismissed him with these

these words; That he should e're long be contented.

Upon this *Gabrieli* discoursed *Barbarini*, who demanded an extraordinary Audience of the Pope, to make his last attempt upon him in favour of his Friend. He told his Holiness, that he was troubled at the bad intelligence that was between *Gabrieli* and *Altieri*, and at the grounds of dissatisfaction that were given to the former; that he well foresaw, that by the small satisfaction he received from *Altieri*, he would be necessitated to these resentments; that if the content which he desired, of being received near his Holiness, as himself had proposed, had been granted him, matters would not have been as they were; that he was not come to beg any new thing of his Holiness, but rather that he would think on some means to appease irritated minds, and to reconcile them, as well for avoiding of publick scandal, as for the quiet of his Holiness, and the good of his Kindred; that to be short, it was dishonourable for both parties, that Cardinal *Gabrieli* should quit his pretensions without some advantageous pretext.

The Pope, naturally of a calme temper, prayed Cardinal *Barbarini* to advise him how he might maintain Peace in his Family,

ly, and made him Umpire in that Difference, with this Reservation onely, that he would not think more of establishing *Gabrieli* in the Palace, because it would be the way to bring in continual Jealousies and Contentions between him and *Altieri*, under his very Nose; that he would have been very willing to have had him near him, but that it behoved him for a greater good to deprive himself of that satisfaction; and that it was easie to be seen what might be feared from his settlement in the Palace, seeing the Umbrage of some Conferences and Audiences that he had given him, caused so many disorders and changes in Mens Minds; that it was impossible to divide the Ministry betwixt two of so disunited Sentiments, who had broken out in manifest ruptures; that in fine, it behoved him to think of some honest means of uniting them, and that there was no man that could better compose the matter than Cardinal *Barbarini* himself.

By this discourse of the Pope, *Barbarini* found himself indispensably obliged to undertake a thing to which he had great reluctance, because the removing of *Gabrieli* under never so specious a pretext, would be the cutting of the principal Thread of the Plot, which himself had spun; he knew that

that he would thereby lose all the part in Affairs, which he promised himself by the good intelligence that was betwixt them; That *Altieri* would never put any confidence in him, because he was obliged to *Cbigi* for his fortune. On the other hand, it was to no purpose to raise more broyles, and that that would do no good, seeing he had left the Pope in a resolution of removing *Gabrieli* upon some honest pretext.

He set to work therefore in good earnest to order affaires to the satisfaction of his Holiness and the Nephew Regnant, with as much advantage as he could for his friend *Gabrieli*.

After many Propositions on either side, it was at length so brought about, that *Gabrieli* was satisfied with the Legation of *Romania*, and a considerable Pension, with other higher appointments than were usually given to the Legats of that Province: Thus he yielded to the present necessity of submitting to the stronger, and changed his Project of Reigning into that of an honourable retreat; leaving *Rome* to *Altieri*, as the Emperors in the last Ages of the Empire left it to the Popes, he chose *Ravenna* for the place of his Residence, where the same Emperours had established the principal Seat of the Hexarchat.

This

This was the success of that Intrigue, which served onely to fix *Altieri* more firmly in the saddle, having removed from his eyes the onely person that could cross him in his designs; made manifest the Popes resolution to maintain him, and taken from all others the hopes of making any attempt to his prejudice for the future.

So that it may be said, that fortune, which commonly takes no great care of its own workes, changed its inclination in favour of *Altieri*; for had she opposed to him any one that had had another support, another conduct, or other qualities than Cardinal *Gabrieli*, he would have found himself not a little hampered.

He had no other Protector but Cardinal *Barbarini*, and it was known at Court that *Barbarini* backt him more for his own interest, that he might have a Man at his devotion about the Pope, than for any consideration of his Merit. And, seeing the Government of *Barbarini* was alwayes dreaded, there was no great interest at Court used for *Gabrieli*, who, besides that, had never in his life-time acquired many Friends or Creatures.

As to the conduct that he followed ; either he should not, as he did, have come to an open rupture ; or having once broken out, he should not have condescended to a low and selfish composition ; he ought to have made his Protestations sincerely to his Holiness, thanked him for the legation which he offered him, retired to his Lodgings, and gone with the rest of the Cardinals to *Functions* and *Congregations* ; and so, besides that, it would have been *un martello in testa*, a Thorn in the side for Cardinal *Altieri* : the Pope, in progress of time, would, of himself made reflexion on a Kinsman, either from the tenderness of blood, or by the suggestion of some third person ; or he would at least have attracted the universal compassion of the Court and People, and turned against *Altieri* all the Shafts of publick indignation. Thus he might have taken the advantage of some conjuncture to mount the Throne, as probably might have happened in the late differences of the Colledge of Cardinals, and the Ministers of Crowns with *Altieri* ; whereas in quitting his pretensions, he lost all, and brought himself into no esteem.

And

And in this it may be said, that his qualities betrayed his fortune, and that the point of honour, and desire of glory yielded to a base sneaking interest and fordid avarice.

Let him go then to his Legation, and we will remain at *Rome* to be the spectators of the curious things that have happened under that Pontificate, or to say better, under the reign of Cardinal *Altieri*, who is now no more to be stopped in the course of his fortune, but by some slight obstacles, which will only serve to confirm him the more in his power.

CHAP. II.

The Intrigues of Cardinal Paluzzi Altieri for the alliances of his House with many Illustrious Families of Rome; and chiefly the Intrigue of the Marriage of the Princess Cesarini.



Cardinal *Altieri*, as has been said in the preceeding Discourse, was raised to the quality of Nephew, and was more absolute than any that went before him in the Sovereignty of Nepotisme. And, although the foundation of that fortune was in some sort weaker than of that of other Nephews, yet the old age and temper of the Pope rendered him more absolutely the Master to dispose of all things, than any of those that had preceeded him in that quality.

The first Project he proposed to himself, was, to raise his family by Alliances; and, in the flourishing state of so eminent grandeur, it was no hard matter for him to find out very advantageous means of procuring them.

There

There are many noble and rich Families in *Rome*, who court the Alliances of the Families of the Popes Regnant, since now they have no other way to maintain their grandeur; and though the authority and command which they enjoy by such Alliances be confined to the Popes Life, yet they have the comfort after his death of the quality of Princes, which remains to them, with the other advantages of Estates that they have purchased during the time of his Reign.

The house of the Prince of *Carbognano* was equally considerable in Nobility, as being the chief branch of the family of *Colonna*, and in richness, being much encreased by the good husbandry of the Prince of that Name, who then lived.

There were but two Sons in that house, the elder called the Duke of *Bassanello*; and the younger named *D. Egidio* Duke of *Anticoli*. The first was Married to the Sister of the Constable *Colonna*, the fairest and handsomest Princess in *Rome*; and possibly in all *Italy*; but without hopes of having Children. So that the whole Estate that was to fall to the younger, made him be looked upon as the richest Match in *Rome*. Cardinal *Altieri* cast his eyes upon him, and caused a Match to be proposed to him with

a Grand Neece of the Pope, and all the advantages that he might thereby expect.

The Prince of *Carbognano* listened to the proposition, and was ready to give his consent to it; but the elder, who perceived that by that Match, his younger Brother would be advanced to a higher quality than himself, did all he could to cross it; he imployed his Brother-in-Law the Constable, and his other Relations, to divert his Father and Brother from that Design. They represented to them, that there was no great advantage to be expected from the Alliance of an Aged Pope, such as *Clement X.* that they ought not to relye on a Nephew, whose Fortune was in continual danger, being onely founded on the favour of an Old Man, capable of all sorts of Impressions. That there was little honour to be gained with a Man of such a condition, and of a far baser humour, who converted every thing into Bartering and Traffick: That it would be a fine sight to see him to day on the Throne, and three dayes after grovelling in the dust, either by the fall of the Nephew, or the death of the Uncle.

These Suggestions and Considerations did not at all shake the Prince of *Carbog-*

nano in his Design : his younger Son was already old enough to think of Marrying ; the Father was so old, as, in probability he ought not to expect another Pontificat, to see Successors of his Name, his Family, and the great Estate that he had acquired with so much care and frugality.

He treated with Cardinal *Altieri*, on condition that his Son might have the Prerogatives of the Princes, which are called *del Soglio*, or of the Throne : he would have engaged Cardinal *Altieri* to grant him the same honour for his eldest Son, that so he might please him : but because that drew after it great consequences, they gave him good words, with hopes of overcoming the difficulties that at first appeared in that Proposition ; that it behoved him first to gain the Pope, by shewing a readiness to embrace the occasion that offered of matching with his Family, and that afterward he might promise himself any thing of his goodness.

The business being brought to these termes, the Marriage was quickly concluded, and the new Married persons were complemented by all the Court, acknowledged and treated as the Popes Nephews. But, some time after, the rejoycing of that

Marriage was interrupted, by the disquiet of the Duke of *Bassanello*.

He saw the Duke of *Anticoli*, his Brother, in great grandeur treated as the Popes Nephew, with all the Priviledges that are annexed to that quality. There was no discourse of the Engagement of putting him in possession of the same honours, by virtue of the marriage of his Holinesses Neece with his Brother. He complained highly of it daily, and had no other satisfaction but ambiguous answers, or the testimonies of good intentions, which produced a delay as bad as a refusal.

So that being wearied by so many unprofitable pursuits, when he found there was nothing for him to expect, and that he was told his pretension could not succeed; that it could not be brought into practice, because there was no example for it; that it would introduce a too insupportable abuse into the Court, of calling to the degrees of the Throne, not onely the Popes Kindred, but also all those that were related to them; that so the Chappels and intire Halls would not suffice to receive them: he quite fell out with Cardinal *Altieri*, his Brother the Duke of *Anticoli*, and the Duchess his Sister in Law.

Having continued some time in an indifference

ferency, which sufficiently spake his secret indignation, he bethought himself of means to revenge himself of the pretended wrong that was done him.

The *Italian* Nation, in general, is very discreet, and not easie to give offence, but is likewise very stiff, and almost inflexible to pardon an injury. Being a Politick and wise People, they think, that the great readiness in forgetting a wrong, makes way for receiving another, because Impunity makes men bold: when on the other hand, say they, if any one think, that if he offend me, I will never pardon him; he will have more care not to vex me.

But, it must be confessed also, that there is great difference in the wayes of revenge, which are taken in several Provinces of *Italy*. In *Lombardie* resentments commonly break out to the highest excess; and there are few offences that are not followed by some Murder: And the worst of all is, that he who hath done the wrong, does all he can to dispatch him whom he thinks he has offended, that so he may prevent him, being fully perswaded that he cannot escape his resentment.

At *Naples*, Revenge is executed by Duels of all sorts, and they often fight on horseback,

horseback four against four, and so decide their controversies.

These two sorts of revenge cannot be practised at *Rome*; the one, because of the rigour of the Justice; the great Policy; and the numerous and strong Guards in all the quarters of the Town: the other, because of the Ecclesiastick Laws, and that it is a Republick, which may be as truly called *populus sacerdotum*, as *Florus* named it *populus vivorum*, in the beginning of its establishment. There are none there but Priests or Clerks, or men belonging to Priests, against whom, by consequent, one cannot draw a Sword.

So that, saving some Placards and Pasquinades, all revenge at *Rome* consists in Interest, either by ruining, or crossing the fortune of an Enemy with Law Suites, or otherways, wherein the People of that Country are very ingenious, as well as in other places of the World.

The Duke of *Bassanello* had a means in his hands whereby to revenge himself of Cardinal *Altieri*; he knew that his eminence had courted the alliance of his house, by reason of the great estate that must one day

day fall to his Brothers children, he himself being out of hopes of having any; he thought he could not more sensibly touch *Altieri* after the Marriage of the Duke of *Anticoli*, than to deprive him of his expectation as much as the Law would permit. And although that could not be done without a troublesome blow to his own Family, by disinheriting his onely Brother the Duke of *Anticoli*, yet the pleasure he took in revenge was so sweet, that it stifled all the considerations of his own blood.

He had a good Estate that he could alienate, and especially the best part of the inheritance of the late Prince of *Gallicano*, who left it him at his death, and was worth about Two thousand five hundred pounds *Sterling* a year. Nevertheless he would not have that Estate go out of the Family and Name of *Colonna's*; he was not so blinded by passion as to do so. He cast therefore his eyes upon the Duke of *Sonnino*, the younger Brother of the Constable, and of his Lady, to whom he bequeathed all the Estate that he could dispose of, and which was not entailed on the House of *Carbognano*.

This

This Donation made in prejudice of the Duke of *Anticoli*, and by consequent of the alliance of *Altieri*, came quickly to the knowledge of the Cardinal Regnant, and there was no secrecy affected in a matter that was purposely done to choak him; which indeed gave him a mortal blow, and wounded him in the two most sensible parts of a Man, Honour and Interest.

Cardinal *Altieri* is therefore offended, and, by the offence, obliged to a resentment: He hath the supreme power in his hands, and must think of the means; but, against whom will he testifie his resentments? He hath no pretext against the Duke of *Bassanello*, who is a Lord, that hath alwayes lived after the *Roman* fashion, that is to say, who hath alwayes made it his business to live, and let live, as they usually say, and hath never been capable of troubling the State; yea, one may presume of his genius, that if he hath fallen on such an extreme resolution, some body must have suggested to him the thoughts.

Therefore Cardinal *Altieri* bends his designs against the House of the Constable; and, without any noise, finds the means of giving him the exchange, and of playing him as smart a trick as that which had been done to him.

And

And, because that gives occasion to the great and long Intrigue of the Marriage of the Princess *Cesarini*, which is at length concluded with *D. Frederick Sforza*; that I may not say to that Comedy, wherein all the Princes of *Rome*, and even the Ministers of Crowned heads played some part, with so many changes on the Scene; it is necessary to trace the matter a little higher, that with less confusion we may follow the Series of the Story.

Prince *Cesarini* that died last, left a very considerable Estate to his Family, and having no Male issue, bequeathed the succession to his Brother *Mr. Cesarini*, then Clerk of the Apostolick Chamber. That Prelate made no difficulty of leaving all the uncertain hopes of rising to a Cardinalship, that he might embrace an inheritance so considerable, as well by the fair Mannors and Lordships, as by the lovely Houses and Palaces, and the Lands which amounted to more than Fifty thousand Roman Crowns of yearly revenue, that make about Fourteen thousand pound English.

But, that Lord, by the Debauchery of his youth, had so impaired his health, that he could not hope to leave after him successors to the House of *Cesarini*.

This

This great Estate then was entail'd upon the Children of the Daughters of Duke *Cesarini*, with this condition, That they, whom they Married, should espouse the Party of *France*; and adhere faithfully to the Interests of that Crown.

That clause of the Testament shewed sufficiently the temper of the Father, whom I knew to be so zealous for his most Christian Majesty, that he proposed to me a little before his death, a design he had of exchanging his Mannours, Lordships, and Lands in *Italy*, with a Lord whom I need not name; and had appointed me to negotiate the affaire, to the end that he might retire into *France*: I owe this digression to the memory of a Prince, who had no other fault, but his too much zeal for the French Nation.

He disposed therefore of his Estate in favour of the children of his eldest daughter, after the death of his Brother, in case he died without Male issue: he ordered likewise but a small Portion for the rest, to take them off from the thoughts of Marriage; that so his Estate might not be divided amongst many branches.

He had two at the age of Marrying, both living in a Convent with their Mother, and equally considerable by the advantages

vantages of birth and beauty ; but unlike as to Portion and Estate, because the eldest was heiress presumptive General of the Mannors, Lordships, and Palaces of his Family.

The Duke of *Sonino*, the Constables Brother, who before was called the Abbot *Colonna*, forsook the Ecclesiastick State, that he might Marry the younger Sister ; but on condition that the elder would become Nun , and renounce the pretensions , and rights of her birth-right, which was done with consent of the Unckle. This elder Sister, either through the perswasions of her Unckle, or because she was not at that time in an humour of Marrying , had consented to all that was agreed upon between the Duke *Cesarini* her Unckle, and the Prince of *Sonino* her Brother-in-Law ; but, no Articles were drawn upon that agreement ; all depended upon the faithfulness of a promise.

Cardinal *Altieri* , to play a trick to the House of *Colonna* , like to that which the House of *Colonna* had played him, by the Donation of the Duke of *Bassanello* to the Duke of *Sonino*, took his measures so well , that he deprived the Duke of *Sonino* of the pretended inheritance of the house of *Cesarini*, by putting the eldest *Cesarini* in the
Head

Head to Marry, notwithstanding her engagement in favours of her younger Sister.

For that effect, he set many at work, to manage the young Lady, and gain upon her Mind. It was no hard matter for Churchmen to break a young Maid off the thoughts of a Cloyster, and for Spiritual Superiours to make her change her design, as well by the dependence on their Counsels, as to the kind of life which she led, as by the tenderneſs of an age ſuſceptible of all the impreſſions that were made upon it.

When her mind was wrought upon in the Convent, where ſhe had choſen her retreat; Cardinal *Altieri* made known to her, that his Holineſs would take her into his Protection, and that he deſired to Marry her with all the advantage due unto her birth and merit.

But becauſe ſhe had not declared her ſelf in favour of any, having had no converſation with Man, ſhe was ſhewed Don *Frederrick Sforza*, Nephew to the Cardinal, and Son to Don *Paolo Sforza*, whoſe Houſe is more remarkable, by the Antiquity of its Nobility, than the greatneſs of eſtate. This young Man was very handſome; and it was an eaſie matter for him to make a Conqueſt of a heart,

heart, which was in the hands of those who had introduced him to her.

This Intrigue was not managed with so much secreſie, but that the Conſtable had quickly notice of it; he complained to Duke *Cesarini*, that they diſcourſed in the Palace of marrying his Neece; that he knew very well that ſuch a thing went againſt the promiſe made upon the marriage contracted between his younger Neece, and the Duke of *Sonino* his Brother; which was not concluded, but upon condition of the renunciation of the Elder. What injury would it be, both to the Honor and Eſtate of his Houſe! that the Duke of *Sonino* had three Sons that would be miſerable, if ſuch a marriage took effect; that it behoved him to apply himſelf in good earneſt toward that blow: that it was in the power of an Uncle, who was in place of a Father, to hinder his Neece from marrying, that as to himſelf, he would rather periſh with all his Family, than ſuffer that wrong and prejudice.

Duke *Cesarini* promiſed the Conſtable, to do all he could to hinder it: that he would never conſent to it, but that he muſt aſſiſt him on his part to gain the Lady, that they needed not deſpair to make her quite a deſigne, which ſhe had only concei-

ved at the solicitation of those of the Palace, who sought not so much her good, as the occasion of revenge, even to the injuring of her conscience, her repose, and the settlement of her Family; that moreover, he ought to endeavour to make the Mother, who would have great influence upon her mind, because she lived with her.

The Constable and Duke *Cesarini* having leagued with the Mother (who at first they won to their side) used all possible endeavours to take off the young Lady from the thoughts of marriage. But finding all their attempts unprofitable, and that in vain they had successively used Remonstrances, Prayers, and Threatnings; because she relied upon the Supreme Authority; they betook themselves to other Artifices.

They thought that without further opposing her designe of Marriage, it behoved them to propose to her another Match, in appearance more advantageous, than D. *Fredenick Sforza*: that they must needs find out one, whom Cardinal *Altieri* should dislike, to the end, that if she consented to it against the Will of his Eminence, the marriage might break off, and so she remain without having either the one or other; but that was not enough, the party must likewise be such, that if the Marriage should succeed

contrary

contrary to their intention, as it might very well do; the house of *Altieri* might find a disadvantage thereby, as well as that of the Constable, that so they might be even with him.

All these conditions concurred in the person of *D. Celio Ursini*, Brother to the Duke of *Bracciano*, and Cardinal *Ursini*. And the better to rip up the matter, we must here digress to an alliance, that Cardinal *Altieri* made with the Family of *Ursini*, so soon as he was adopted Nephew to the Pope.

The House of *Ursini*; that disputes the precedency with all the Families of *Rome*, Noble by its original, by its antiquity, by its alliances, and by its dignities and charges, is divided into two branches, whereof the chief is at *Rome*, and the head of it called Duke of *Bracciano*, the other is at *Naples*, the head whereof takes the name of Duke of *Gravina*.

That of *Rome* consisted in the three persons whom we have named, to wit, the Duke of *Bracciano*, the Cardinal *Ursini*, and *D. Lelio*; and was almost extinct: the Duke of *Bracciano* being aged, and without children; the second a Priest; and the third of such a Devotion as did degenerate into a kind of weakness, and all three of a sickly constitution.

Cardinal *Altieri*, whose care and industry of making his Family, is hardly to be matched, no more than his fortune; perceiving that all the Estate of the Roman *Ursini*, was about to descend to those of the kingdom of *Naples*, applied himself from the beginning of his Reign, to draw them into an alliance with his Family: he caused a marriage of a Niece of the Pope, to be proposed to the Duke of *Gravina*, with a vast sum of money in portion, and a Cardinals Hat for a Brother of that Duke, who was then a Jacobin.

Gravina needed no great entreatie to consent to that Match, being allured to it by the advantage of holding the rank of one of the Popes Nephews at *Rome*, and by the hope of enjoying the inheritance of the Roman *Ursini* himself, as being much younger than all of them were: the marriage was concluded then to the satisfaction of all that were concerned in it, and the married parties tasted the joys of a calm Serenity, crowned with honors, amidst far greater hopes.

But the Intrigue of the Constable, and Duke of *Cesarini*, who pitched upon D. *Leslio Ursini*, to be proposed in marriage to the elder *Cesarini*, troubled the contentment of

Gravina

Gravina, as well as of Cardinal *Altieri*, and his Relations.

They saw that the expectation of the great Estates of the *Ursini* was in danger to be disappointed by that marriage; and although *D. Lelio* was already well stricken in years, considering the age of the young Lady, yet he was not out of hopes of having children; they had a near instance of it in the house of the *Mathei*; the Duke of *Acqua Sparta*, at the age of Sixty nine years, having had a Son by a very young Lady.

It was no difficult matter for the Constable and Duke *Cesarini* to gain the Lady to consent to that match, and to leave the thoughts of *D. Frederick Sforza*; by that alliance she found her self the sole Heiress of the *Ursini*; besides that, it agreed better with the inclination of her Mother and Uncle. It was likewise represented to her, that one essential clause of the Testament of the Duke of *Cesarini* her Father was, That in case his Daughters should marry, those whom they chose for Husbands should be approved of by his most Christian Majesty; that this condition was not to be found in the Family of the *Sforza's*, seeing the Cardinal of that name, Uncle to *D. Frederick*, was of the *Spanish* Faction: whereas the House of *Ursini* had always been,

time out of mind, addicted to the *French* party, and that the Cardinal, the Brother of *D. Lelio* was actually the Comprotector of the affairs of that Kingdom.

She condescended then to that proposition, waving the consideration of the age of *D. Lelio*: but that innocent Victim perceived not that both parties designed to sacrifice her to Interest and Revenge, the cruellest of Deities, which all the blood in the world can neither content nor appease. The two parties played their game with her, and she knew nothing of it: nevertheless she had taken the better course, to have followed the propositions of Cardinal *Altieri*, whatever his intentions were, than to embrace the party offered by the Constable; because the first intended at last to give her a Husband, and make her the Mistress of her own Estate, only that he might be revenged of the Constable and his Family, and the other, by revenging himself on Cardinal *Altieri*, revenged himself likewise on her, by proposing a marriage to her, which he judged could not take effect, and of the success whereof himself was afraid, desiring no other advantage of that proposition of *D. Lelio Orsini*, than to set her at variance with Cardinal *Altieri*, or to tire out his Eminence: seeing it was equally hurtful

to the Duke of *Somino*, whether she married *Sforza* or *Ursini*; and that he could pretend no other satisfaction by her marriage with the latter, but to mortifie the Duke of *Gravina*, and by consequence *Altieri*.

But the Lady *Cesarini* was not the only person that was imposed upon by this Intrigue: D. *Lelio* himself was also abused: He set to work in good earnest to marry a Wife; and the great Piety whereof he made profession, was not inconsistent with the sentiments of an honest and virtuous love.

In this condition D. *Lelio* made his Courtship to the Lady *Cesarini*, as punctually as it can be made to an *Italian* Lady, shut up in a Nunnery. D. *Frederick Sforza* had not the same advantage, because the Mother, who was made for D. *Lelio*, found means to keep the one at distance, and to admit the other.

When that affair came at first to the knowledge of Cardinal *Altieri*, he made no great matter of it; he perceived very well, they intended to play him a trick, but he could not be perswaded (as the truth indeed was) that the Constable had a real designe to bring that Marriage to effect, which was equally fatal to his own House, as to the Family of *Altieri*.

He knew likewise, that they had perswaded the young Lady to change her mind, but that put him at no variance with her, and he well perceived that to be rather an effect of her complaisance and obedience, than of her inclination: that it would be easie for him still to reclaim her; her new Gallant *D. Lelio* being no such charming Blade, as that a young Maid would forsake all other objects for him; and especially *D. Frederick* who was a far more sutable Match.

He failed not however still to tamper with the Lady; he talked before her, of the proposition of *D. Lelio* as ridiculous, because of his qualities; adding, that it was an odious proffer, seeing the Authors of it would only impose upon her, it being the least in their thoughts to have her married. In the mean time he advised her to dissemble, but still to remain constant, seeing she was assured of the Protection and good Intentions of the Holy Father.

When the Constable found that matters went not in the rode that he had proposed; that the faculty of the Lady *Cesarini*, in listening to the Match of *D. Lelio*, had put no misunderstanding betwixt her and Cardinal *Altieri*, who persisted still to entertain her in the humor of Marrying, and that they corresponded together as formerly:

he grew apprehensive, and justly too, that the proposed Marriage might be consummated when he should least expect; which without any other formalities, might be done at every instant; because the Pope is above all, and Cardinal *Altieri* had Force joyned to the Sovereign Reason.

In effect, he must have given over at last; and the the thing had been presently put in execution, if he had not started a difficulty, which stopt the conclusion of the affair.

He brought upon the stage the Ambassador of *France*, with whom he lived in very good intelligence, as he hath always done with the Lords and Ambassadors of that Nation, notwithstanding the reluctancy of the *Spaniards*; with whom he is obliged to observe his measures, because of his States and his quality, of Constable of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

He easily engaged the Ambassador in his designe, who then was the Duke *d'Estrees*, already dissatisfied with Cardinal *Altieri*, as we shall see in the Intrigue of the Cardinalship of the Bishop of *Laon*; they resolved to let *Altieri* know, that the Lady *Cesarini* was under the protection of the King, by order, even of the last Will of the late Duke her Father: that by the Testament of the same Duke, his Daughters could not marry
without

without the approbation of his Majesty: that the *Sforza's* were addicted to the *Spanish* Interests, and that by consequence, the King would never approve of that Match, that the Marriage proposed with *D. Lelio*, was liked of by his Majesty, because that House was actually in his service, friendship, and under his protection: that therefore he did oppose the Marriage proposed by *Altieri*, and that the match with *D. Lelio* must be concluded.

Cardinal *Altieri* made answer to the Ambassador, that he would never fail, in the respect due to his most Christian Majesty, which he did not think he injured by maintaining the good intentions of the Pope, for the Lady *Cesarini*, whose liberty was like to be oppressed by the injustice of the Family of *Colonna*, who designed, by shutting her up, contrary to her inclinations, within four Walls, to deprive her of her right to the Estate left by her Father to his children. That when his Majesty should understand the good intentions of the Holy Father, he would not only praise, but thank his Holiness for them, as well upon the account of his great natural equity, as of the Friendship and good Will that he had for the Lady.

That

That as to the difficulty that was started of the adherence of the House of *Sforza* to the Crown of *Spain*: besides that, Don. *Paola Sforza*, Father to *D. Frederick*, had always observed a Neutrality, suspected rather to incline to *France*, than any other Nation; it would be very easy to remove that impediment, by making *D. Frederick* declare for *France*, which was already endeavoured, and to which it was hoped they might obtain the approbation of his Majesty; seeing it would engage a Noble Family to the *French* Faction, which in all appearance might extend to Successors; whereas the Family of *Ursini* being already addicted to the Crown, no new conquest was made. That moreover, he had no thoughts of doing anything, without acquainting his Majesty; and that in short, he would leave it to the free option of the Lady *Cesarini*, to make what choice she pleased.

This Answer appeared most rational, but the Constable and his Brother the Duke of *Savona*, could not rest satisfied, because, which way soever the matter went, it concluded in the marriage of the Lady *Cesarini*, that is to say, in the utter ruin of the Duke of *Savona*, and of his children; whereas by the opposition, which he made to the marriage

marriage of D. *Frederick*, and the proposition of giving her Duke *Lelio*, his designe was to oblige Cardinal *Altieri* to let matters alone as they were; to wit, the young Lady in the Nunnery, and the Duke of *Sonino* and his Lady, in the hopes of enjoying the Estate.

However, they gained somewhat by the intervention of the Ambassador: they might promise themselves that no more would be done in the affair, without acquainting the French Minister; and that in the mean time they might have leisure, either to perswade the Lady to become Nun; or in case, she would needs marry, to make her resolve to accept of D. *Lelio*, which seemed to them the less prejudice, because there was but small appearance that he could leave any children after him of so unequal a marriage.

They made therefore the best use of their time for attaining their ends, by prevailing with the French Ambassador to write to *France*, that he might obtain favourable resolutions as to the party he had espoused, whilst they on their side attacked the Lady with all the Engines, which authority mingled with Artifice could imploy to gain her; but the Answers that came from *France*, were but very general, because the *Sforza's*

on their side, solicited at Court, and were assisted by their friends, for obtaining the approbation of the King : and besides, the Lady was still constant and immoveable in her resolution of marrying.

In so much that they could get no more of her, but an indifferency, at least in words and appearance, for either of the two Matches, though if her heart had been consulted, there would have been found there a formed Declaration in favour of Don. *Frederick*. But she was willing to give her Mother and Uncle that satisfaction, to free her self from their importunities, as she told Cardinal *Altieri*, expecting till time should bring a remedy to her troubles.

That indifferency signified but little to the *Colonna's*; but it was too much for Cardinal *Altieri*; he feared that that step might be followed by another, and he could not promise himself any thing of a Sex, that is as dissembling as weak, which way soever that Maid bent her thoughts, having through the persecutions of her Relations, forsaken D. *Frederick*, he found no satisfaction therein : if she should embrace the Nunnery and a Religious life, his contrived revenge would prove in vain : if she declared her self
for

for D. *Lelio*, the Inheritance of the *Urfini*, was snatched from his Family.

In this disquiet of thoughts, he represented to the Lady *Cesarini*, that she should have a special care of what she did; that she should distrust the persuasions of her Relations, as being acted by meer Interest; whereas his Holyness and himself, had no designs, but for her repose and advantage, that if the Holy Father should come to know that she failed in a suitable correspondence to his good intentions, as it seemed she had, by becoming more slack in her good resolution, he would abandon her to the discretion of her Relations. She could not at that time forbear to complain of the persecutions of her Mother, Uncle, and of those of their party; she besought Cardinal *Altieri* to assist her, and to think on means to rid her from the trouble wherein she was; and from so many importunities wherewith she was overwhelmed: that moreover she continued still in a firm resolution to depend absolutely on his Holiness, and his Eminence, who could not want means to overcome all the apparent difficulties that had been started by the Ministry of the French Ambassador: that she well perceived it to be an Artifice of the *Colonna's*; and which would take no effect,

so soon as she should make her reasons known to the King, with due submission both on the part of her self, and of him who was designed for her Husband.

Altieri was exceedingly well satisfied with that sincere declaration; and that he might comply with what she said, as well as to make sure of her Person; he gave Orders in his Holinesses name, that none should be admitted to speak to her in the Nunnery without express permission from him.

This prohibition gave occasion to her Relations, and to those of the party of the *Colonna's* to clamour, and complain openly, that it was contrary to the promise which *Altieri* had given, of leaving the Lady at liberty to make what choice she pleased; that they used violence towards her, and kept her shut up without speaking to any body, that they might make her say whatever they pleased, and draw from her a forced consent. This was not all, they engaged the *French* Ambassador in the quarrel, with threats, that if the Lady *Cesarini* were not left in the same liberty as formerly, they would be obliged to repel force by force, and that they would carry her from the place where she was, and put her into the hands of such as might be able to answer for her.

These

These complaints were not carried to the Palace, but they made noise enough to come to the ears of Cardinal *Albieri*: He had no suspicion of the Nuns of the Convent, nor of those that served them abroad; the Pope is too absolute over such kind of persons, and especially at home, and under his Nose; but he was afraid lest the Mother of the Lady, who was of the contrary party, might by the intelligence of the *Colonna's*, and the assistance of the Ambassador, play him a trick.

So that he caused the Lady to be removed from the Convent of *St. Catherine* of *Sienna*, seated on the Hill of *Wagnanopoli*, in sight of the Palace of *Montecavallo*, to the content of *St. Aure*, beyond the *Tyber*, where Don. *Frederick S'forza* had an Aunt, and put guards upon her, with the same prohibition, to let none speak with her without his express permission.

This action made great noise at *Rome*, though it was carried on with much prudence and dexterity, and to the satisfaction of the Lady *Cesarini*. The Mother complained that her Daughter was snatched away from her embraces; Duke *Cesarini* that his Niece was stolen; the French Ambassador, that promise was not kept to him; D. *Lelio*, that his Mistress was carried away;
the

the *Colonna's*, that the most illustrious Families of *Rome*, were used as slaves, and seeing the whole Intrigue was devised against them, their share was likewise greatest in the Catastrophe; they spared not to say, that they would all perish first, rather than suffer, such an injury and affront.

The *Sforza's*, wisely perceived that these menaces were directed to them; and that they were unequally matched with the *Colonna's*; they took advice therefore of Cardinal *Altieri*, what they had best do, to avoid these contests with honor.

Altieri advised D. *Paolo Sforza*, the Father of D. *Frederick*, and his Uncle the Cardinal, to send D. *Frederick* abroad for some time under pretext of travelling; and seeing the Italians begin their travels commonly by *Germany*, that they should send him to *Vienna*, and give him Orders to remain there, until new advice; that in the mean time they might have time to negotiate in *France*, for obtaining the Kings positive approbation: that they should keep the affair dormant, and that by the removal of D. *Frederick*, the *Colonna's* would have no more cause of Umbrage, since they should thereby make shew of mending the matter no more.

This counsel was followed, and had very good success as to the *Sforza's*; they give it out, that D. *Frederick* in a desperate fit of a Lover, who saw himself frustrated of the hopes of enjoying the sole object of his his affections, was gone to *Germany*, to follow the wars, that by a generous death he might put an end to his torments and leave his Familie in repose: they pretended to complain of Cardinal *Altieri*, who had been the cause of the loss of that young Gentleman, and who had only embarked him for his ruine.

On that side matters went very well; but still Cardinal *Altieri* stood in need of a person faithful to his Interests, to make sure now more than ever of the perseverance of the Lady *Cesarini*. D. *Frederick* was absent; and as the *Italians* say, *Lontano da gli occhi, lontano dal cuore*, Far from the eyes far from the heart: The Pope could not refuse Duke *Cesarini* the liberty to send to see his Niece, because he always kept his Chamber or Bed, lame and unable to move, through the Gout and Catarrhes.

So that there was need of a faithful Tricheman, to entertain the correspondence between Cardinal *Altieri* and the Lady *Cesarini*.

No man was so fit for that, as Mr. *Altoviti*. Patriarch of *Alexandria*; he was a Prelate of integrity and much experience in the Roman Court; he had the direction and superintendence of the Convent of *St. Anne*, and of several others in *Rome*, and was besides intirely at the disposal of those of the Palace, so that neither could others doubt of his fidelity, nor the adversaries take offence at his Negotiations, which were to pass for assistances of the Convent, to which his charge engaged him.

And thus for a long time matters were carried on without noise; all things seemed to be stilled, and that the marriage of the Lady *Cesarini* was one of those very common Romances, which bring the Lover at length to seek for death to cure his despair; and the Lady to shut her self up in a cloyster, having lost what she loved in the world.

But these appearances husht not the passion of the *Colonna's*; on the contrary, they grew very watchful to observe all that passed: they had intelligence enough in *France* to know all that the *Sforza's* did there, for obtaining the King's consent to the marriage of D. *Frederick*; and began already to perceive their credit, because the French Ambassador seemed not so much

concerned in the matter, as he had formerly been, sticking only in the general proposition, that the Lady *Cesarini* might be free in her choice of a Husband, that should please his Majesty.

At *Rome*, (where one may say that Spies do Reign, as Men Reign by Spies,) there wanted not some to discover the Intrigue of Mr. *Altoviti*, with the *Sforza's* and *Altieri*; besides, that the frequent comings and goings, and the assiduities of that Prelate, at the Convent of *St. Anne*, his interviews, and visits to the *Sforza's*, were much suspected by them. They were even told that D. *Frederick*, since his departure had been secretly introduced to the Lady *Cesarini*: some went further, and said that there was no more wanting to the Marriage, but the consummation, and that it had been performed by the Ministry of Mr. *Altieri*, with all the necessary dispensations on the part of the Pope.

The *Colonna's* affected as much silence, as their adversaries; they testified no resentment against Mr. *Altoviti*, they seemed insensible of all these Intrigues; but the greatest calm is commonly followed by some furious storme.

There

There were but two persons, that with the Intelligence of Cardinal *Altieri*, had the conduct of the affair; to wit the Aunt of *D. Frederick*, a Nun in the Convent of *St. Anne*, and Mr. *Altoviti*, who was the Director of the same. Nothing could be done to the Nun; and it seemed, that even Mr. *Altoviti* ought to have been secured from any attempt by his character of *Patriarch*; his habit of a Prelate, and many other qualities that rendred him venerable, not to speak of the express Orders which he had from the Palace, for all that he did.

Nevertheless, one evening as that Prelate returning from *St. Anne*, passed over the *Ponte sesto*, some men unknown discharged two Carabine shot at him through the back of his Coach, with so much justness, that they retired, believing that he could not but die before he went far; for he was indeed, shot behind in the neck, and the bullet came out side-ways under his Shoulders, he called out for help, and causing himself to be carried to the next house, which belonged to a friend of his, called *Falconieri*, he prepared himself for death, but the shot was not so dangerous; for in a few weeks he was cured.

There were few that did not regret the mischance of Mr. *Altieri*, he received in crouds, the testimonies thereof from the greatest part of the Court, and even from those, who were most to be suspected for having a hand in that black action.

A friend of mine at that time made a Latine Distick; which went through the hands of all the Court: and thus was it.

*Barbare! quid violas violento tingere tentas
Sanguine? quas tingi myrice Roma dabat.*

But the Authors of this crime were talked of with great reserve, Cardinal *Altieri* himself, against whom this blow directly rebounded, seemed not very eager in the search of the offenders: perhaps he expected that they should have discovered themselves; and that fear, which betrays most part of criminals, would make them take some resolution, from whence they might draw evidence: so that spies were set to observe what countenance men had in the Palaces of the *Colonna's*, if they were more upon their guard than usually; if there was no talk of retiring under some pretext into the Countrey; and such like things, which are signes of distrust, and by consequence of a guilty conscience,

Though

Though the Constable, or his Brother, were upon better grounds suspected, than any body else; and in a manner the only persons that were believed capable of such an enterprise, through the passion which with some reason did animate them against those, who endeavoured the ruine of the younger Brother, yet nothing appeared of it; and next morning after the action was committed, the Constable was seen at his windows beholding some young men, who after the usual manner, were riding the great Horse in his Court.

Information was taken but very slowly for the discovery of the assassins, without attacking those on whom fell the common suspicion: whence it was easily concluded that Cardinal *Altieri* would not engage any deeper with them; because it would have drawn upon him too many enemies to encounter, and have occasioned too much noise; besides, it would have been in vain to have indicted them criminally, having no evidence to prove the manner of the action, nor what persons had committed it.

However, Cardinal *Altieri* triumphed in this, that his adversaries were blamed and reproached by all men, for so unworthy an action, though no body durst speak freely,

especially, since it was known, that even in the Palace there was no great appearance of resentment; yet people moved by compassion for a Prelate of that merit, or by the horror of such an assassination, conceived an aversion for the *Colonna's*, who were believed to be the Authors thereof.

On the other hand, the *Colonna's* were not vexed in their minds, that the action was believed to proceed from them, because Cardinal *Altieri* not daring to shew any publick resentment, it rendred them the more formidable, they were not vexed that there adherents published through *Rome*, that the *Colonna's* were powerful Lords, that they were able enough to hold the Balon to the Nephews Beard (that is there way of speaking; *tenere il bacile alla barba*) that they could arm such a number of men for their defence, and call them to *Rome* with a whistle, that they had the protection of Crowns, and many other discourses of Romish bravery.

Though such discourses were ridiculous with those that know what the power of a Pope is in his States, and of Princes, who are reckoned upon but as his Subjects, especially nowadays: yet still they made some impressions on the minds of the *Roman* people, who are alike inclinable to admire and to despise.

This

This made Cardinal *Altieri* send for several Troops of Horse to come to *Rome*, under pretext of a Muster; to the end he might awe the People, by letting them see, that the Pope, for all he is so peaceable a Prince, yet is never without Armed Men ready to obey the least Signal. Some imagined, that they were called to back some enterprise against the *Collonna's*; but it was more probable that these men were assembled at *Rome*, to observe the countenance of the *Collonna's*, and to be ready to take some advantage upon them, if they had armed, or gone out of Town; since no new thing happening, some dayes after the Soldiers were sent back to their Quarters.

And this was all the satisfaction that Mr. *Altoviti* had, for having sacrificed himself to the Intrigues of the Palace; and all the consequence of an action of so much noise. Some other Nephew of a Pope would not perhaps have stopt there; but it was enough for *Altieri* to gain the chief end which he proposed to himself; and he thought it would sufficiently humble the *Colonna's*, if he succeeded in the Marriage of the Lady *Cesarini*.

The

The *Colonna's* and *Sforza's* laboured to gain the French Ambassadour, and the Duke *Cesarini*, the one to hinder, and the others to get the Marriage concluded in their favours; for *D. Lelio* appeared no more upon the Stage, and that point Cardinal *Altieri* had already gained; but the *Sforza's* had this advantage besides upon the *Colonna's*, that the young Lady had an inclination for *D. Frederick*: that the French Ambassadour gave them good words, and bid them make friends at Court for obtaining the Kings approbation, and that he would not oppose it. He did the same with the *Colonna's* which put Duke *Cesarini* to that pass, that he knew not what to do: nor what side to take, being besides moved by the sighs of a Neece, though by his promise engaged to the *Colonna's*.

As he was one day complaining of the importunities that were made to him upon the account of that Marriage, and that it was an addition to the trouble he suffered of being alwayes sick a Bed; a person of merry humour that was present told him: "Yfaith, my Lord Duke, to make them all friends, I advise you to Marry, and to take a Lady, that has wit and industry enough, to give you a Child in Nine Months time. This he said familiarly and laughing,

ing, because Duke *Cesarini* could not so much as stir himself.

In fine, the *Colonna's* perceiving that all their Engines were fruitless; that *Madamoisell Cesarini* continued constant in her resolution, that the French Ambassador stood neutral; that the King gave the Lady her liberty to take *D. Frederick* upon the conditions mentioned in the Testament; that the *Sforza's* were engaged in the French Faction; their last recourse was to the Canon-Law.

Madamoisell Cesarini had made a Vow of Stability in the Convent where she was bred. It must be decided if that Vow hindered her to marry, and if there was need of a Dispensation. His Holiness, at the desire of the *Colonna's*, named Commissioners to examine the quality of that Vow; who having consulted, written, and deliberated thereupon, Judged, that that kind of Bond was but a simple Promise before God, which had not the force of a Solemn Vow, and from which, her Confessor, Authorised by the Pope, might absolve her. So that there remained no more to put an end to that perplexity, but to Joyn the two Parties by the Bond of Marriage. *D. Frederick* was already recalled from Germany, and had been some time at Rome, without

without appearing publickly, that he might not expose himself to some insult of his Adversaries. The *French* Ambassador, and Duke *Cesarini* consented to the Marriage; but, to pacifie the *Colonna's*, and comfort the Duke of *Savino*, as Justice did require, having married the younger Sister, upon the good faith and promise of the elder; it was agreed upon, that under the protection of the King of *France*, the children of the two Sisters, should share amongst them the Estate of the Duke *Cesarini* their Uncle after his Death, or whensoever he should be pleased to resign it.

And thus ye have the Catastrophe of a Play that made so much shew upon the most illustrious Theater of Christendom; and though the Intrigue of a Marriage made the Plot, yet Love had a far less share in it than Interest; and this is not to be wondred at, seeing the Scene is laid in a Countrey, where galantry yields commonly to policy.

Since the Marriage; the two Sisters and their Husbands are made good Friends by the authority of the most Christian King, who hath taken these two Houses into his Protection, whereof he hath given them an illustrious Mark, by the blew Ribbon wherewith he hath honoured them, as a testimony

stimony that they are the worthy inheritours of the Zeal, which the late Duke *Cesarini* had for the Interests of the *French Crown*.

CHAP. III.

The Language of Cardinal Palamini, &c.
in the Roman Curia.

Mr. Cellier on the Italian
is the Cardinalship, &c.
which other ways should



is the most part of the
have advanced rather dignity have

Whichever of these are pleased to

CHAP. III.

These things are by no means
and a better, one of which, in
king have been chosen the Pope, who
the Language of the Court are the
heads of the Church, the Successors of
Peter, and the Vicars of Jesus Christ.

So that there is none of those who
are that Sacred College, that may not
pretend to the Papacy, and by consequence
that ought not to have such distinction
etc. requires for governing the whole
Church; or if there be some who seem
naturally excluded from the Pontificate, by
a practice brought into custom, and which

~~history that they are the worthy inherit-
 of the Vest, which the late Duke of
 had for the last time~~

CHAP. III.

*The Intrigues of Cardinal Palazzi Altieri,
 in the Promotion of several Cardinals.*



F Men reflected on the Dignity of the Cardinalship, methinks that other wayes should be thought on for attaining to it, than most part of those, who have advanced to that dignity have followed.

Whatsoever People are pleased to say of that dignity, yet it is by it, that one enters into a Society, out of which, for a long time have been chosen the Popes, who, in the Language of the Court are the visible heads of the Church, the Successors of St. Peter, and the Vicars of *Jesus Christ*.

So that there is none of those who constitute that Sacred Colledge, that may not pretend to the Papacy; and by consequent, that ought not to have such qualities as are requisite for governing the whole Church: or if there be some who seem naturally excluded from the Pontificate, by a practice brought into custom, and which

I blame not (because I ought to suppose it (I am told) to be for the good of the Church) they have at least the Prerogative of choosing the Pope ; and consequently ought to be endowed with the zeal and knowledge necessary, for discerning of him that best deserves the place.

I wave this, that the most important affaires of Christendom are decided by them, in so many Congregations most wisely established : that their decrees in controverted points, are held to give repose to other Churches, tranquility to Consciences ; and in very many places, the measure to Civil Laws.

Nor do I pretend to inhaunce the esteem due to that dignity, by the antiquity of its original, the greatness of its progress, and the sanctity of illustrious men that have been raised to it ; there are Books which treat of that at large. It is enough, which some (with what reason I know not) tell us, that the Cardinals are in place of the Seventy Disciples, and that they are represented by the holy Elders that stood before the Throne.

It is matter then of astonishment that now a dayes that important place is no otherwayes considered, but as a Civil and Secular Dignity, and that most part are called

called to it by maximes so remote from the Sanctity of its primary Institution.

It is not my design however, to observe in this place the wayes that are taken to attain to it, that would be to engage in too particular a Scrutiny. I will onely tell ye by the by, that the way of merit is least followed by those, who march towards the eminence whereof we speak; whether it be that it is the least successful, or that it is the longest and most troublesome rode: hence it is, that even at *Rome*, when any man, commendable for Virtue and Learning, comes to be promoted to the Purple, they commonly say, that he is gone to *St. Peter* by the *Longara*; that is, a long street that reaches from the Port *Septimiana* to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, and the longest way to go to the *Vatican*.

In effect, if we would well examine those who compose the Sacred Colledge, we should find, that excepting the Cardinals which are called National, and are but few in number, it is filled, either by *Genoeses* that have got into it, by buying the chief places of the Chamber, or by *Florentines* and *Tuscans* by the Interest of Families, that have been allied to the Families of so many Popes, who have been almost successively of the same Countrey: or by *Romans* or *Romish*,

mish, who are introduced by base and fawning compliances with the Popes Nephews; or, in a word, by some *Milanese*, or *Neapolitans*, who have been advanced out of meer Policy, that by their Faction they may obtain a Dominion in the States of the King of *Spain*.

In prospect of this, Cardinal *Altieri* was no sooner made Nephew to *Clement* the X. but he made it his whole business to raise himself Creatures.

There were three Cardinals places vacant in a short time. It was believed at first, that in this promotion the Pope would call to mind the obligations that he had to the House of *Rospigliosi*. *Clement* the IX. their Uncle preferred him to be Master of his Chamber, and afterward made him Cardinal: besides, he had not been elected Pope, but because he was his Creature, especially by the Votes of the *French* Faction; insomuch, that being obliged to the House of *Rospigliosi* for what he was, Men were perswaded with good ground that he would bestow one of the vacant Hats on the same House, which was otherwise very commendable to the Holy See, by the conduct of the late Pope, and of his Kindred, during the time of so glorious and honourable a Papacy.

But men were deceived of their expectation; for, it was not the Pope that made Cardinals. Cardinal *Altieri* would have Men of his own, and one of the *Rospigliosi* would have been the Popes: so that these three Hats were given to three Prelats who were at the disposal of the Regnant, to *Carpegna*, *Borromei*, and *Massini*. The first was a *Roman*, Datary, and a Kinsman; the second a *Milanese*, Secretary of State, and a Favorite; the third, a *Roman*, but by an antient habit, and secret engagement a *Spaniard*, and besides a Friend of *Altieri*.

Some have said, that the Pope, absolutely against the will of his Nephew, named *Borromei*; but besides that, the Holy Father was no fit person for contesting about any thing; it is to be presumed that Cardinal *Altieri* was not against it, because his office made him depend on him, and that he was of the *Spanish* Faction, by the Inclination of his Birth, and the Engagement of his Family.

The *Rospigliosi's* are then excluded from this Promotion: and because that all good men murmured at it, that the Pope was therefore taxed of ingratitude; that the deceased Pope had done far more generously in respect of the *Chigi's*, having made

D. Sigismund

D. *Sigismund Chigi* Cardinal in the first Promotion; that the *Rospigliosi's* were men of sufficient Merit, though the Pope had had no obligation to them; that granting the *Rospigliosi's* had nothing in them that deserved consideration, but the qualities of the Uncle; yet a Hat was due to the Memory of so holy a Man: but Cardinal *Altieri* used cunning to divert the Publick indignation, which by these rumours fell upon his Government.

He pretended, that Cardinal *Rospigliosi* himself opposed the good intentions his Holiness had, of promoting one of his Brothers to be Cardinal.

This pretext had some colour. Cardinal *Rospigliosi* had three Brothers, one who married the daughter of *Sieur Pallavicini*, a rich *Genoise*, in consideration of which Marriage, Mr. *Pallavicini*, Uncle to the Maid, was made Cardinal; another called D. *Vincent*, Commander of *Santa Euphemia*, who had been General of the Popes Gallies; and a third, D. *Felix* an Abbot. He had greater kindness for D. *Felix* the youngest of the three, than for D. *Vincent*, with whom he had never been well reconciled, since the Jealousies that set them at variance, during the Pontificate of their Uncle. Some ill affected persons at Court

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had fomented these Jealousies betwixt the two brothers, that by their Divisions they might govern Pope *Clement* the IX. And because it was more easie for them to dispose of Cardinal *Rospigliosi*, than of *Vincent*, they had alwayes kept him as much as they could from the knowledge of affairs; and for that end made use of the occasion of the siege of *Candie*, to send him thither twice with the Popes Galleys, whilst in the mean time they swayed the mind of the Cardinal at their pleasures, entertaining him still in Umbrages with his Brother. In-
 somuch that after the death of *Clement* the IX. the aversion that Cardinal *Rospigliosi* had for *D. Vincent* continued still.

This was favourable for Cardinal *Altieri*. If *D. Vincent*, by the voice of his Friends, complained of the injustice done him, in forgetting him in the promotion; it was answered, that His Holiness had the best intentions in the World for the House of *Rospigliosi*; that he was troubled he could not give such testimonies of it as he desired; that his hands were tied by the bad understanding that was amongst the Brothers; that he could not give the Hat to *D. Vincent*, without disobliging the Cardinal his Brother; that neither could he declare himself for *D. Felix*, without wrong-
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ing D. *Vincent*, who was his elder Brother; that it behoved the Cardinal at least to declare, on whom of the two he would have him bestow it.

And the same reasons were thought sufficient to answer all that could be said of the exclusion of the *Rospigliosi's*. But it was well known, that it was onely Cardinal *Altieri* his fault that the two Brothers were not reconciled together; that the onely way to unite them was to render them equal in dignity; that Cardinal *Rospigliosi* was a man of too much reason not to live in good intelligence with a Brother, whom he should see every day in the same Chappels, the same Congregations, in the same habit, and in the Functions that are common to the whole Colledge; that was far from the thoughts of *Altieri*; he was well satisfied to make his best use of that bad intelligence, and even fomented it by some that had credit with *Rospigliosi*, because that whilst matters continued in that state, he might delay the time, and not be engaged to give a *Hat* to that House, and by consequent might dispose of the places that should fall vacant in favours of his own Creatures. The better to cloak his design, when he found that the antipathy which the Cardinal had for D.

Vincent was come to that height, as that he should say, he had rather have no Cardinal in his house, than to have *D. Vincent* one; he told him, that his Holiness gave him the disposal of a place in the College, when any should be void; and that it should be his own fault if it were not filled by one of his Brothers.

Cardinal *Rospigliosi* accepted it with Thanks, and with a testimony of his inclination, for the Abbot *Felix* his youngest Brother. This stuck so in the thoughts of *D. Vincent*, that being enraged, he lost both the health of his body and mind; which obliged his Relations to send him out of *Rome*, to their Countrey House of *Zagarolo*, and then to *Pistoja*, where, within a few dayes after he died.

But, it was a long time before Abbot *Felix Rospigliosi* came to his promotion; nothing spoke for him but Merit, and that signified but little to the Regnant humor: besides, Cardinal *Altieri* perceived, that by making of him Cardinal, he ought, in decency, to give him wherewith to maintain that dignity, because the *Rospigliosi's*, the Nephews of the late Pope, were so honest men, that in stead of enriching themselves under the Pontificat of their Uncle, they

had

had much impaired the estate of their predecessors.

Another conjuncture besides happened, which delayed the promotion of the Abbot *Felix*, and we are now insensibly engaged in another Intrigue of Promotions.

Monsieur *d'Estrees* Bishop of *Laon*, had for a long time aspired to a Cardinalship: in the time of *Clement IX.* he had been proposed to that dignity by the nomination of the King of *Portugal*; he had long entertained at the Court of *Rome* the Abbot *Bonsils*, who was sent thither for the affairs of the house of *Vendome*; and afterward Mr. *Fauchet*, that he might double his offices; amongst other things he represented to the Palace, the consideration which the Holy See ought to have for the services which the House of *Vendome* actually rendered to Christendom; that the Duke of *Beaufort* had sacrificed himself at *Candia* for the common Cause; that the Cardinal of *Vendome* spared no means in seconding his Holiness in his pious design of assisting the Republic of *Venice*; and because both these Brothers died, the Agents pressed his Holiness more vigorously than before, to comfort that afflicted House; shewing him, that he could not do it better, than

by giving a Hat to the Bishop of *Laon* who was next of Kin, and the honorary Guardian of the young Princes of the House of *Vendome*.

Yet they could not obtain that of *Clement* the IX. because probably he thought he had done enough for the Crown of *Portugal*, that he admitted and owned the Ambassador of that Nation, against all the Factions of the *Spaniards*; and that he had declared null the Marriage contracted betwixt King *Alphonso* and Mademoiselle of *Nemours*, giving her thereby liberty to marry *D. Pedro*: probably also because of other engagements, to which by civility and decorum he was obliged, seeing no fault could be ever found in his conduct; so that *Clement* the X. succeeding to him, the Bishop of *Laon* renewed his Offices. The Cardinals of *Este*, and *Ursini*, the one as Protector of *Portugal*, received orders to propose him to the new Pope, and the other as Protector of *France*, to joyn thereto the recommendation of his most Christian Majesty: but, all that did but little advance his affairs, and except some few good words, which they that know the genius of the Court of *Rome*, ought to take for a civil denial, they left him in his pretensions; they heard his instances, and
snewed

shewed a disposition to his desires: for these are the mysterious maxims of the Palace, when they have a mind to keep men in a long expectation, or at length to weary them out, and make them take another course; which most people that have not full experience of that Court, cannot well dive into, but with a great deal of time.

This made the Bishop of *Laon*, assisted by the Ministry of Monsieur de *Lionne* (who understood *Rome* as well as any Minister that ever *France* had) find an honest pretext of going to *Rome*, that he might in person negotiate his own concern. He set upon his journey about the end of the Spring, in the year 1670. with the character of Minister of the Crown Extraordinary, for the affairs of the King. Having made a happy journey through *Piedmont* and *Lombardie*, where he received the honors due to his Merit and Character, excepting some formalities at *Parma*, whereat he shewed some discontent: Having been treated at *Turin* in a Royal manner as a kinsman; in a Ducal manner at *Modena* as a friend, at *Bologna*, and all the State of the Pope, in an Ecclesiastical way as a Prelate; he arrived at *Rome* full of hopes of seeing himself quickly Cardinal.

But affairs were longer protracted than he expected, there were powerful men in *France*, and of high credit at Court, who were not altogether glad of his exaltation, either out of jealousy of his grandeur, or because it put by some other that aspired to the same dignity; and they were so much the stronger that Mr. *de Lionne*, who was the best support of the Bishop of *Laon*, died in the heat of the affair. The *Spaniards* vigorously withstood his designs, and protested they would never suffer him to be made Cardinal, unless they had one of their Nation, by reason of the equality, as they said, that the Pope is obliged to observe in regard of Crowns: The most Christian King thought it not fit to name him, because he would thereby have lost the nomination of another, which is due to him at present; he pretended that his recommendation joyned to the nomination of the King of *Portugal*, was enough to incline the Holy Father to satisfy him. Cardinal *Altieri* was attacked on all hands: if the Bishop of *Laon* pressed him to shew the effects of his Holiness's promise; he had immediately the Ministers of *Spain* on his top, who represented to him, that the Queen of *Spain* had the same pretensions for making Father *Nitard* Cardinal at her recom-

recommendation, as the King of *France* had for the Bishop of *Laon*.

We must know that Father *Nitard* a Jesuit, was he whom the Queen of *Spain* sent to *Rome*, to satisfy Don *John* of *Austria* and his party; and because she had with much reluctancy thus dismissed him, being her Confessor, Confident, and Counsellor, she was willing to honor that kind of exile by all the real marks of a constant friendship: After she had removed the Marquis of *Astorgas* from his Ambassie at *Rome*, to the Vice-Royalty of *Naples*, she used violence upon the retirement and modestie of that good Father, brought him out from among the Jesuits, made him a Prelate, and gave him the chief charge of the affairs of the Crown of *Spain*: but the good will of that Princess rested not there, she would still crown her work by adorning him with Purple; and himself laid hold on the conjuncture of the instances that the Bishop of *Laon* made at the Palace; to advance at the same step with him to the Cardinalship.

Ye see then two Prelats of two Crowns in the same pretensions, and Cardinal *Attiæti* in a great puzzle, he cannot content the Bishop of *Laon*, without displeasing Father *Nitard*; he cannot satisfy the demands of *Portugal*, and of the King of

France

France, without offending the Queen Regent of *Spain*, or one Hat must cost him two; and if he make the Bishop of *Laon* Cardinal, he must at the same time do as much for Father *Nitard*: or, in fine, if he make neither of the two, he must incur all their displeasure alike. Nevertheless, he makes his advantage of these debates to gain time; and in the mean time, if the Bishop of *Laon* press him, he tells him, that if he will find a way to satisfy *Spain*, he shall immediately have what he desires: he follows the same course with Father *Nitard*, but that Father does not much importune him, he perceives that the Bishop of *Laon* does his business for him, and it is enough for him only to make protestations, that he is in no haste for a Cardinalship; but that he hopes they will not do that injustice to *Spain*, to give a Cardinal to *France*; and *Spain* not to have the same favour from the Holy See.

The Bishop of *Laon* was not much concerned, provided he were Cardinal, though Father *Nitard* had likewise a Hat; but perceiving, that in agenting his own affairs, he laboured for *Nitard*, whilst that Prelate did not at all sollicite *Altieri*; he believed that *Altieri* conspired with the *Spaniards*; that he himself had solicited them to make
that

that instance, that he might rid himself of him; and that so it was but a colourable pretext of those of the Palace; that they might shun the giving of satisfaction to the Crown of *Portugal*, to which they durst not give an open refusal.

By this artifice matters were delayed, and the Bishop of *Laon* could not forbear to testifie his impatience. What Letters were not procured from *France*? What Offices were not imployed with the Pope, to beseech him, with his kinsmen to gain them, with the *Spaniards* to make sure of them? It is enough to tell you, that Mr. *de Lionne* managed the affair; he brought things so about, that the Duke *d'Estrees* was sent Ambassador to *Rome*, who being entrusted with the affairs of the Crown in that Court; it is to be presumed that there was not any that touched him nearer, than that affair wherein the King interested himself for his Brother, who had been made to spend there a year of noviciat for the Cardinalship, though his merit raised him above many others, that met not with the same difficulty.

Amongst the Instructions that the Duke *d'Estrees* brought from *France*, none seemed of greater importance at that time, than the Proposition he was to make to the Pope,

Pope, for the restitution of the State of *Castro*, and *Romiglione* to the Duke of *Parma*.

It is not my design to discuss that long affair in this place. It is enough for my purpose, to say that that Estate having been engaged to the Apostolick Chamber, and since incamerated, that is, annexed to the rest of the Ecclesiastical State, by Pope *Alexander* the VII. The same Pope by the Treaty of *Pisa*, and by the Articles of reconciliation betwixt his Holiness and the most Christian King, obliged himself to restore it to the Duke of *Parma*, upon payment of the sum of 1600000 Crowns and upwards, which the House of *Parma* was indebted to the Apostolique Chamber, and for which it was mortgaged and incamerated. The death of *Alexander* the VII. prevented the repayment, and *Clement* the IX. easily waved the Treating of that affair, by the good intelligence that he entertained with *France*.

So that his Pontificate having been but short, and being expired without any instance made to him concerning the Treaty of *Pisa*, and the repayment of the Money; to content the Duke of *Parma*, it behoved to be brought upon the Carpet under *Clement* the X.

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But the *French* Ambassador had a particular Interest to urge that affair briskly ; for besides the satisfaction of the Duke of *Parma*, he had hopes likewise to draw some advantage from it for the Cardinalship of his Brother, and for all other things that he might pretend to from the Palace, and the reason was this,

The restitution of *Castro* will be always an odious thing to the Popes, and a prejudice to the Ecclesiastick State ; because it will be a concession, that the Popes may be deceived, the Estate of *Castro* having been incamerated and disincamerated by one and the same Pope, with advice of the same Cardinals, which ushers in an infinite number of vexatious consequences to the Court of *Rome* ; besides, it would place a Sovereign Prince at the Gates of *Rome*, and settle a Sanctuary for all the discontented ; so that all Popes will as much as possibly they can excuse themselves from restoring it, and will disown what *Alexander the VII.* did, that they may not leave an offensive memory of their Papacy to the Holy See.

That being so, the Duke of *Este* might very well promise himself, that Pope *Clement the X.* to avoid the restitution of *Castro*, would grant all that could be desired of

of him in *France*: and indeed it was no sooner proposed, but that in so quaint a Court, the deligne of it was presently smelt out; that to stifle that proposition, there needed no more; but to give a Hat to the Bishop of *Laon*; that it was not of so much consequence to the *French* King, whether *Castro* returned to the Duke of *Parma* or not; but that he would let matters go with mildness, provided, that in other things he were satisfied.

Nevertheless, the voices of the Cardinals and Prelates of the Court were divided: some of them were of opinion, that it would be better for the Holy See, to resolve once for all to restore *Castro*: that when the *French* should have that demand no more to make, they would be more free at *Rome* in the measures which ought to be taken with *France*; when otherwise it would always prove a thorn in their foot, and whensoever the *French* King had a mind to have any thing granted him by the Court, he would presently set on foot the proposition of *Castro*; so that the restitution would put an end to that plea, and his Majesty would have no more opportunity of accompanying his Ambassies with bravadoes.

Others were of the contrary opinion; that when the King of *France* should fail of that

that means, he would find others; that if he had none else but what he pretends from his predecessors, of having protected the Holy See, yet he would not want pretexts to back his claims; that the state of *Avignon* alone, which in some manner makes *Rome* depend on him, would give him opportunity enough, whensoever he had a mind to shew his resentments; that the liberties and immunities of his Kingdom, made him even powerful enough to pretend to more; that moreover, he might from time to time have what he desired, without any loss or expence to the Holy See. What did the Popes give away of the Revenues of the Church, by granting Hats, Indulgences, and the like favours? when on the other hand, the restitution of *Castro* would dismember the Ecclesiastick State, besides the prejudices before mentioned.

The Palace inclined to this last advice, which was to satisfy the Ambassador in the other points of his Instructions: but that the Pope might not be troubled with the business of *Castro*, during his Reign; he resolved thereupon to take the opinions of all the Cardinals, assembled in full consistory; which he did, and put the suffrages into a box well sealed; causing them to be carried to the Treasury in the Castle of

St. Angelo, that he might have his recourse to, and take his measures by them; when any new instance should be made to him about that concern. This course was taken, that the voices might be given with more freedom, and that it might not be said, they were carried by private interest; so that the discovery of this mystery is to be expected at some other conjuncture: for it hath not been moved since, and my Lord Ambassador seemed to urge it no more: whence it was concluded, that he had had fair promises, as to what he was most concerned in.

The Bishop of *Laon* seems now sure of a Hat; but delays are dangerous: the Pope is old, what if he die? what if the King of *France* remit his instances? If his supports fail? If the King of *Portugal* change, he will find himself wide in his measures. Cardinal *Albani* must therefore be urged to declare himself; and to promise to make him Cardinal at the first promotion: But Cardinal *Albani* makes use of shifts; he sees a necessity of giving three Hats, one to *Rossignoli*, another to the Bishop of *Laon*, and a third to Father *Nizard*; and amongst all these three Cardinals to be named, there is not one that depends on him; one is for the faction of the late Pope, the other

for *France*, and the last for *Spain*. Besides, he perceives that these promotions are not upon the account of Crowns; that they are but bare recommendations, and not nominations; that within a little the Kings must be satisfied by a new promotion. He is nevertheless engaged; he prays the Bishop of *Laon* to have patience; to find out some way to ease his Holiness, who hath so good inclinations for him; and who would have certainly granted already all that he desires and deserves; if the *Spaniards* had not crossed his good intentions; that he could not so much as yet acquit himself of the obligations he had to the house of *Rospigliosi*: In a word, he conjures him to think of some way himself of being made Cardinal at the first promotion, without offending the Family of *Rospigliosi*, or the *Spaniards*, and to propose the same to the Pope, which would doe him a singular pleasure.

Some Bias must be then thought upon for the promotion of the Bishop of *Laon* that may not give offence to the other competitors, and may take all further excuse from Cardinal *Altieri*. It was thought that no better expedient could be found out, than to demand for the Bishop of *Laon*, the Hat which was promised to Cardinal *Rospigliosi* for one of his Brothers, and where-

of the Pope had assured him at the first promotion: by this means the *Spaniards* had nothing to object against the Pope; and the *Rospigliosi's* giving their consent, all men ought to be satisfied. It was proposed to Cardinal *Rospigliosi*; and that Cardinal who makes it his whole business to oblige, prevented the proposition, and freely offered not only that, but if it were needful for the satisfaction of the King, he was ready to resign his own; he goes to the Palace, proposes it himself to Cardinal *Altieri* and the Pope; and solicites for the Bishop of *Laon* with as much zeal as can be expected from any man in his own concerns.

What shifts and excuses can now be found out in the Palace? yield they must: yet Cardinal *Altieri* however thinks of entrenching; he informs Cardinal *Rospigliosi* under-hand, that he would do well to consider what engagement he put himself into; that he should have a care not to do an injury to his Family, by renouncing his pretensions; that he cannot justify himself to his Brother when it comes to his turn to be made Cardinal, if he let slip the first promotion; if his Holiness should die before he bestow a Hat on D. *Felix Rospigliosi*, his hopes will be lost, because another Pope will not be obliged to it; That so favourable

nable a Declaration for a *French* Prelate, will put him in bad intelligence with the *Spaniards*: In a word, he makes use of all the arguments he can imagine, to shake or cool Cardinal *Rospigliosi* in his resolutions; but perceiving no impression to be made thereby on his mind, it behoved him, notwithstanding all imaginable reluctance, to promise to the Bishop of *Laon*, that he should be Cardinal at the first Promotion.

The day of promotion is not known by many, unless sometimes the night before, or the morning when it is performed; and many times no body knows any thing of it till after the consistory.

When it was made known, that the Pope had appointed a consistory to declare Cardinals, and to fill the vacant places, then presently the Bishop of *Laon* was talked on, as the first of those that were to be promoted, without staying till he should be declared; he is waited upon, and complimented, and the great and spacious Palace of *Farneze* is hardly big enough to receive all that come to him.

But some hours after the Scene is changed, the Pope makes Cardinals; some he names, and reserves one *in pectore*. The Bishop of *Laon* is out of all patience, to see so long an expectation disappointed,

and so positive promises without effect; He complains highly; but they endeavour to appease him, by assuring him that he is Cardinal *in pectore*; that the Pope, upon certain considerations, was hindered from declaring him, but that in time he will declare him: yet nothing can pacifie him; he writes to *France* and *Portugal*, and engages Cardinal *Rospigliosi* to joyn with him in his grievances. The King and Cardinal *Rospigliosi* have the same assurances given them, that the Bishop of *Laon* is Cardinal from the day of the promotion; that the Pope has reserved him *in pectore*; that he may be at quiet, and not doubt of it; but all this is not sufficient to free the Bishop of *Laon* from a deep melancholy.

Who can see into the Popes heart? and though one might see there the name of *Cesar* *D'Estrees* Cardinal, who can promise but Cardinal *Altieri* by the absolute power he has over the Pope, will not efface the characters? or give it out, that the Pope has a weak memory, as he hath so often done already, that he may at his pleasure dispose of all things? who is ignorant that these reservations *in pectore*, are the ingines of the Court of *Rome*, to keep many Prelates in expectation at the same time? Who can promise, but that they will keep the
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Bishop of *Laon* still in hopes, untill that either the death of the Pope, or some other conjuncture may give the Nephew Regnant opportunity of leaving both the Bishop of *Laon* and *Rospiroli* in the mire.

All these reflexions concurring with the loss of Mr *de Lionne*, who was snatched away by a very sudden death, were strong enough to overcome the constancy of a more patient man than the Bishop of *Laon*; and to kindle a choler less susceptible of flames than his.

Some were perswaded that he would retire from *Rome* with his Brother the Ambassador, as has been practised upon like rencounters; others thought, that the restitution of *Castro* would be brought upon the stage again afresh: but they judged it more convenient to continue their instances at Court, wherein they ran no risque: whereas by taking the other course, besides that they would have engaged the King, they ran hazard of losing all.

They therefore patiently expected the fulfilling of the promises and assurances that were made to them, with so much the more encouragement, that notwithstanding the death of Mr *de Lionne*, and the effects of their enemies, yet the King still supported them with his protection. But the

promotion that was made the following winter, almost quite dash'd all their hopes. For the better understanding of this matter, we must pass to another Intrigue,

Monsieur *de Bonzi*, Bishop of *Beziers*, being removed from the Ambassie of *Venice* to that of *Poland*, in very troublesome times, performed so good services to that Crown, that King *Casimir* named him to the Cardinalship under *Alexander* the VII. But that Pope, who to the day of his death, had shunned all occasions of shewing kindness to *France*, dying, without granting any thing to *Poland*, in the last promotion which he made for Crowns, that Prelate was disappointed of his pretensions. Under *Clement* the IX. the successor of *Alexander*, he had his nomination renewed by the King, and the Cardinals *Ursini* and *Este* were by very pressing Letters from his Polonian Majesty, charged with that affair: but that great Pope having other engagements, that insensibly drew him another way, even to the end of his Pontificate, which lasted not full two years and a half, matters continued as they were.

He had not hitherto made any better progress under the present Pontificat, tho King *Michael Vignovieski* upon his advancement to the Crown of *Poland*, confirmed the

the nomination of King *Casimir* his predecessor.

He therefore nicked his time, thinking no opportunity more proper for succeeding in his designs than the present. His hopes were backed with many considerations: Cardinal *Altieri* was solicited by the King of *Poland* to do Justice to that Crown, after so many exclusions in the Promotions that had been made at the nomination of other Princes. The Emperour had the same right to make his instances for the Empire, because neither the one nor other had had any Cardinals under *Clement* the Ninth. But that which wrought most for Mr. *de Bonzi*, was, that Cardinal *Altieri*, though he had no inclination to give a Hat to the Bishop of *Laon*, yet he was unwilling to disoblige the King of *France*. What course is then taken in favour of Mr. *de Bonzi*? they put Cardinal *Altieri* in head, that by giving Mr. *de Bonzi* a Hat, he'll satisfie *Poland*, and with the same hand give contentment to the King of *France*, who will have no ground to press so much for the Bishop of *Laon*, when his Majesty sees one of his Subjects, and one of his Ministers raised to the Cardinalship; that being an *Italian*, and *Florentin* by Nation, the *Spaniards* will have less cause of complaining;

ing, and that so one single Hat will be worth him three, one, which, soon or late he must give to Mr. *Bonzi*, another that he was engaged to bestow on the Bishop of *Laon*, and a third which the *Spaniards* demanded for Father *Nirard*.

Some have given out, that the Adversaries of the Bishop of *Laon* made use of that artifice to baffle him, and that they incited Mr. *de Bonzi* to make his proposition at the Palace, the more to stir up the *Spaniards*, who would not suffer the elevation of two *French* Prelats, advanced by Foreign Princes to their prejudice: so that if there was any ground in that conjecture, it was not the way to advance the affairs of Mr. *de Bonzi*, but to entangle him as well as the Bishop of *Laon*.

Others said, that the Cardinals *Borromei* and *Carpegna* conspiring with *Altieri*, devised that clutter, to give the last blow to the pretensions of the Bishop of *Laon*.

However the matter was, it is certain Mr. *de Bonzi* at that time took very good measures, because without much negotiation, he with three others was declared Cardinal, in the promotion whereof we have spoken, which was made in the month of *February*, the Pope having
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still reserved *in pectore* him, whom he had not named in the former promotion.

Many people were surpris'd when they saw Cardinals created, and no mention made of the Bishop of *Laon*: no body could tell what to say of that Myserie; but in general there were no great matters expected for that Prelate. His greatest mortification was to be obliged to thank the Palace for the promotion of the Cardinal *Bouzi*; and to testify his joy therefore, because it was an advantage for the Crown: yet he performed it with much constancy, and made his private discontent give place to a publick rejoicing.

Cardinal *Altieri* in the mean time triumphed; he perswaded himself that he had satisfied all parties: the *Spaniards*, in his opinion, had nothing to demand, seeing the Bishop of *Laon* was not declared Cardinal: that the King of *France* would remit his solicitations, having given him a Cardinal, by satisfying the nomination of *Poland*. Thus he made his Accompts, but matters will not go so: and after the long turnings and windings that he hath made, the Bishop of *Laon's* Hat will cost him four, two, which he hath already given to *Poland* and the Empire, and two, which must be given in the next promotion to the Bishop
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of *Laon* and Father *Nitard*, that is to *Portugal* and *Spain*; without reckoning another which he will be still indebted to the Crown of *France* in compensation of the promotion of *Nitard*, which his Majesty will pretend to be made at the nomination of *Spain*.

Hardly had Cardinal *Altieri* received the Compliments, which were made him on all hands, upon account of the last promotion, but that he was more vigorously than ever solicited by *Portugal* and *France*; to oblige him to make his holiness declare in favour of the Bishop of *Laon*, whom he had long reserved *in pectore*. They represented to him, that it was too great an amusement for a Prelate of his merit; that though no regard were had to the instances made on his behalfe, yet it was a thing due solely to the services of the house of *Vendome* done for the Holy See: they added besides the weight that the recommendation of the King of *France* ought to have, who was then about to begin a War so advantageous to Religion and the Church, by the Liberty which he was about to restore to the Catholics in *Holland*, and which, by consequent, would render the Pontificat of *Clement* the X. glorious to Posterity. Why should there so much difficulty

difficulty be made to fill the Sacred Colledge with men illustrious for piety, learning and birth, presented to the Pope by Princes, when some were cloathed in purple, who very often had no other recommendation but that of a base and servile compliance?

Cardinal *Altieri* could not disguise his aversion against so many promotions, by which he made no Creatures: if the Pope should come to die, what interest could he make in the Conclave without Electors at his devotion? What friendship could he find in the Cardinals that were not at all obliged to him, because he made them against his Will? What party should he take? What assistance expect in time of need, being at *Rome* without a Faction; in bad intelligence in *France*; and in *Spain* without advancement? the Cardinalship of the Bishop of *Laon* begets him an enemy in the Colledge, and that dignity for the future will serve onely to make his enemy more powerful. The Hat of Father *Nitard*, which he cannot refuse to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, raises him as many enemies in that Kingdom, as Father *Nitard* has envyers, that is to say, Don *John* of *Austria*, and the most part of the *Grande*s at Court, who obliged the Queen to
send

send him away. These reflections strangely tossed the mind of *Altieri*: but he must at length condescend; he is too far engaged; there are places void; and he is urged without intermission.

In fine, after that the Bishop of *Laon* had languished in expectation almost two years, he is at last made Cardinal; and to justify the good intentions of his holiness, it is declared, that he is the person whom the Pope hath had *in pectore* almost a year; and so he is comforted by giving him the precedence before those that were created since that time.

This is the upshot of that so perplexed Intrigue; and, should we tell the thoughts of the most disinterested of the Court of *Rome*; we might acknowledge with them, that the Nephew of a Pope might have come off with more satisfaction to all parties, and less disadvantage to himself. He might, from the beginning, by granting a Hat to the nomination of *Portugal*, have done somewhat for the advantage of the Church with that Crown, and gotten from thence a considerable sum of the Revenues of the Bishopricks, which had been put under Sequestration during the long Vacation of that Countrey, to be employed in the necessities of *Christendom* against the *Turk*,
and

(III)

and the *Spaniards* could have found nothing to blame in that conduct.

Next he might, upon the resignation that Cardinal *Rospigliosi* made, have given that Hat to the Bishop of *Laon*, and all men would have applauded such an action.

In fine, in the promotion of the Bishop of *Laon*, when he came at length to have him declared Cardinal, he might have shewn some forwardness to make that resolution seem more conspicuous and free, which from the beginning to the end appeared all along forced and constrained.

But either his engagement with the *Spaniards*, to whom he owed his quality of Nephew, more than to any other, or his own interest, to make himself creatures, inclined him to do so: yet, in spite of his teeth, he saw four Hats go out of his hands, for which no man was obliged to him.

The Cardinalship of the Bishop of *Laon* put off the promotion of *D. Felix Rospigliosi*, who had generously made over his place to him, so that *France* was obliged to sollicit Cardinal *Altieri*, that so soon as he could he would have respect to the House of *Rospigliosi*. And in solliciting of that Affair, the Duke and Cardinal *d'Estrees* gave the Palace no time to breath.

Fortune

Fortune, it seems, never favoured the Nephew of a Pope, so much as *Altieri*; there have not been observed in many Ages, so many places vacant in the sacred Colledge in so short a time, as have been in the Pontificat of *Clement* the X. This has given occasion to many of the Court of *Rome* to say, That a Just Judgment of Heaven was to be seen in the death of so many Cardinals, because having chosen *Clement* the X. Pope, in the thoughts that he could not reign long, it seemed that in a short time he should bury all those that had chosen him.

In less than three years, more than Fifteen were already dead, so that since the last promotion in a short time there were places to be filled. One was demanded for the Abbot *Felix Rospigliosi*, and the merit of his family concurring with the Instances of the King of *France*; and, the Obligations that the Pope had to the memory of his Uncle, carried it at length over the conduct of *Altieri*, who was wholly addicted to the making of his Family, and profiting of the Benefices of the Cardinals that died, for the use of himself and his Nephews, as he would have been willing to have disposed of their Hats to men at his devotion, if he had been suffered to do so.

The

The Joy of the People, and of all honest men, upon the promotion of the Abbot *Rospigliosi*, is unexpressible, by reason of his good qualities, and the veneration wherein his Uncle *Clement* the Ninth was held: but they would not endure that Cardinal *Altieri* should give him a Hat without a Hat-band, to speak in the *Italian* manner, that is to say, without crowning his merit with some Office or Benefice, to maintain his Dignity. And especially when *D. Vincent Rospigliosi* died, it was thought strange that he invested him not in the places of his Brother, having given the commandery of *Santa Euphemia*, which *D. Vincent* enjoyed, to a grand Nephew, son to Don *Gasparo Altieri*, who was but then in the cradle.

These were the chief promotions of that Reign. However there are others not a little curious; but, seeing to discourse of them it behoved me to give an account of the Present State of the Court of Rome, it would carry me too far beyond my design.

CHAP. IV.

*The Intrigues of Cardinal Paluzzi Altieri
with Princes and their Ministers.*

SINCE the Popes began to divide the cares of the Papacy with their Kinsmen ; these new *Hercules's* have found the weight of so sparkling a heaven very easie and supportable : they were called but to give a hand, and they have thrust so far in as to lend a shoulder for supporting the burden of that Great Machine.

The Popes, who are often elected in so great an age, or of so weak a constitution, that they can have no other thoughts but to spend the rest of their dayes in quiet, are easily inclined to leave the management of affairs to those that are nearest them, in prospect that these employments make a settlement for their families, and procure them alliances, not onely with all Ecclesiastick persons, but likewise with the Princes and Soverains of all Christendom, whom they may oblige.

The charges of the *Roman* Court are divided

vided amongst the Kindred of the Pope; the Seculars commonly divide amongst them the Government of the Ecclesiastick State; the nearest and dearest Relation will be made General of the Holy Church; another, Governour of the Castle of *St. Angelo*; another, General of the Gallies and of the Navy; and so charges are given according as they are more or less considerable to those who are differently favoured and esteemed.

But, the most important Office is that of Cardinal Nephew, or Cardinal Regnant: he it is that makes the fortune of the other Relations; he is alwayes where the Pope is, if we had not rather say, that the Pope is alwayes where the Nephew is: he disposes of him absolutely: nothing moves in the Palace but by his order, whether in regard of the Officers of the Palace, or of those that are abroad: he is the head in all Counsels, present at all Congregations; he regulates the dayes of the Consistories, of the Chappels, Visits, and Audiences: and, in a word, it is on him that the Pope relies in all matters.

In so much that the Nephew of a Pope had need of a great sufficiency; wisely to manage all Affairs.

But, there is nothing more essential to

his conduct, than to be able to take right measures with the Ministers of Crowns and Princes: it is that which makes the glory of a Pontificat, all the honour of his Ministry, all the Grandeur and Joy of *Rome*, and very often the repose of *Chriſtendom*.

If we should reflect on the reign of several Popes in these last ages, we would find the truth of this verified: we might observe some Pontificats full of splendour and glory, and others buried in obscurity and lowness, some in an amiable tranquillity, calme, and peace; others in troublesome broiles, disturbances, and continual discontents: and if we inquire into the cause of this, we shall find, that all depends on the genius of the Nephews Regnant, and their particular conduct with Princes.

It is really difficult for a Popes Nephew to be able to observe alwayes just measures with so many Ministers of a different humour, who have such different interests, who live at *Rome* in continual jealousies, and who labour alwayes to draw some advantage from the Holy See, by any way whatsoever, either in rendring themselves useful, or in setting themselves off more than others.

There is no Catholick Prince but entertains

tains at *Rome*, either an Ambassadour, Resident, or some Agent; and though their obedience and respect engaged them not to maintain as much as may be, a good correspondence with the common Father, yet they would in policy be obliged to do it, that they may in the Court of *Rome* defend the interests of the Clergy and Monasteries, which make a considerable part of their States, and support the affairs which daily happen amongst their Subjects in matter of Conscience.

This is not the place to examine the interests of Sovereigns in that Court; or to compare them together, that we may judge of the conduct of the Ministers that are entrusted with them; that alone would make a Book big enough. I only say, that of all that are employed for the affairs of Countries submitted to the Holy See, there are none that make any considerable figure, in respect of the Ambassadours of *France* and *Spain*.

The Emperour commonly is satisfied with a Protector for the proposition of Churches; and if he have any urgent matter to be proposed to his Holiness, he does it either by the Ministry of a Cardinal, or by some Envoy Extraordinary.

Poland observes the same Maxim; and

testifies either so much obedience, or so much indifferency, as to all that passeth at *Rome*; that the King does not so much as name Cardinals of his Nation, though he might in his turn take the same course as other Crowns do.

Portugal keeps there for the most part a Resident; and since the Pope was necessitated to own the separation of that State from *Spain*, there have been but two Ambassadors from *Portugal*, who vanished almost as soon as they appeared.

Amongst all the Princes of *Italy*, the Republick of *Venice* cultivates most the intelligence of the Court of *Rome*, and next the great Duke of *Tuscany*; but more because of the vicinity of their countreys, than the importance of affairs that they have there to manage.

So that, we may say, that the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, are the two onely crowned heads, who concern themselves in good earnest in the affairs of *Rome*.

But with this difference; that the most Christian King acts with *Rome*, as a Friend, who has no other obligation on him but that of civility and complaisance, by reason of the liberties and immunities of the Church of *France*.

When on the other hand his Catholick Majesty

Majesty carries it with *Rome* as an interested Associate, because he is closely tied and engaged to it by the Tribunal of the Inquisition, and by the Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction, which gives absolute authority to the Nuncio's and Judges of the Church, throughout the whole extent of his Dominions.

And that is the reason that the differences of *France* with *Rome* exceed not a kind of dryness that often happens amongst Friends upon occasion of some grudge, and which commonly yields to the pleasure of a reconciliation. On the contrary, *Spain* either never breaks with *Rome*, or their ruptures are attended with some great blow and noise, as happens betwixt persons interested.

It may be said, that the Jealousies of these two Kings, has some Analogie with that of *Jacob* and *Esau*: these two children endeavoured who could most, to attract all the Blessing of *Isaac* their Father, they made use of all kind of artifice to supplant one another, and to make their condition better.

And the Pope is in no less perplexity than the good old man *Isaac* was, how to content his two children. I will not enter upon the full application of the comparison: it must not be said that this common

Father is so dim-sighted as *Isaac* was, that he cannot distinguish the Merit of these two Sons; that he knows not him to whom God has designed the birth-right; that he perceives not for which of the two it is, that their Mother has greatest sympathie and inclination; that is, whom the Church has cherished most, and to whom she hath alwayes given the preference: the Pope needs not to feel the hands of *Jacob*, that he may know him from *Esau*, he knows it sufficiently by many brave actions, from which the holy See has drawn most considerable advantages: he knows very well for whom he ought to declare himself, and to whom he ought to give the greater share of his blessings. But the good Father fears to foment Jealousies, and to put division betwixt his two sons by an open Declaration.

This is a figure of what daily happens at *Rome*; the Pope can do nothing in favour or consideration of *France*, but that he is burdened with the complaints of *Spain*: And seeing the Catholick King is stronger in *Italy*, than his most Christian Majesty, by reason of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Duchy of *Milan*; so has he a better share of the blessings of the Earth, though with reluctance of the Holy Father; that is to say, he carries

carries it by politick interest, and the Pope must of necessity be a *Spaniard* in appearance, though he be *French* in his heart.

We might likewise add that *Esau* was more useful to *Isaack* than *Jacob*; that he brought his Father daily some prey from Hunting; that he laboured to satisfy the appetite of the old man; whilst *Jacob* was wholly taken up about the affairs of his Family, and looking after his Flocks, without withdrawing from the bosom, or sight of his Mother: So the King of *Spain* daily obliges the Pope by great sums of Money, which *Rome* draws out of his Dominions; whereas the *French* King hath no other aim but to please the Church, to assist her inclinations, to extend and increase the number of her subjects, and in fine, to maintain the Family that depends thereon.

Having cast an eye upon these reflexions, it may be easily judged, in what manner the Nephew of a Pope ought to order his Conduct with the Ministers of Crowns.

He may lay down for maxims, that the intelligence of the *Spaniards* with *Rome*, is founded on Interest and Fear, that they never ask any thing which is not to be suspected; that they use endeavours to procure the same liberties as *France* hath; that they cannot attain to that, without shaking
off

off the yoke of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which they have so often attempted; that most part of their demands are hurtful enterprises; and that by consequence, nothing is to be granted to them, unless it be first well considered, if any prejudice may redound from it, to the authority of the Apostolick See.

That on the other hand, the correspondence of *France* with *Rome*, hath no other foundation than love and respect; that their liberties, immunities, and priviledges, put them in a condition of not having most times their recourse to *Rome*, but purely out of deference and respect; that these liberties free their demands from the suspicion of abuse or noveltie; and that if the King or his Subjects make application to the Holy See; there is commonly more to be got, by granting, than by refusing their demands, because, that in granting them, they make matters pass for favours, which otherwise they pretend to have by justice, when they come with any reluctance.

That other Princes in imitation of the *Spaniards*, do all they can to enlarge their liberties, and especially the Princes of *Italy*, with whom closer measures may be taken, because they are in greater dependence on the Holy See.

It

It would be no hard matter for me to show in the sequel of this History, that these maxims are very essential for the conduct of affairs in the Court of *Rome*; but I have confined my self to the affairs of the present Pontificat.

Let us see then what measures Cardinal *Altieri* has taken in his Ministry with Princes.

He had great advantages for succeeding in it, he was become Nephew to a very aged Pope, of a mild and commodious humour, easie to be governed: he had the example of a glorious and wise Pontificat, under *Clement* the IX. who made it questioned, whether he was more *French* or *Spaniard*; but who left no doubt but that he was all to all: the private interest of his establishment busied him not much, seeing the fairest Dignities shewred down upon his head, and the best bits fell into his mouth, as the *Pamerlengat*, and great Vicarship of *Rome*, with many considerable benefices, by the death of the Cardinals *Ginetti*, and *Antonio Barbarini*, besides the Archbishoprick of *Ravenna*; wherewith the Pope provided him, at the opening of the Conclave. There was none at Court able to give him jealousy, or to thwart his projects; the death of Cardinal *Antonio* left him quickly master

master of *Rome* ; Cardinal *Este*, who alone could give the Popes Nephews enough to do, was retired home to *Modena* , where in a short time he ended his troubles with his days ; Cardinal *Gabrieli* was removed, as we have said before ; the alliance of his House strengthened his authority ; and none were in the Palace but his own Creatures. There were no great affairs in agitation at *Rome* ; and the Ministry of the three principal Catholick crowned Heads was discharged by Prelats, to wit, by the Cardinal Lantgrave of *Hesse*, the Bishop of *Laon*, and Father *Nitard* : Christian Princes were in peace the two first years of his Ministry, except the King of *Poland*, who was engaged in war with the *Turk* ; and if the King of *France* was then thinking of a War against the *Hollanders*, it was the fairest conjuncture in the world for the Nephew of a Pope, to immortalize the memory of the Pontificat, by rendring it advantageous to the Church, and happy for Catholicks : and he had occasion enough to please many men, by the frequent vacancies of so many places in the sacred Colledge.

Here was a fair field to reap in ; who does not now expect honourable Legations for Christian Leagues, and Croisado's?

But

But that is the least thing in the thoughts of Cardinal *Altieri*; he was observed from the very beginning, to be very little addicted to affairs abroad, which he remitted wholly almost to the cares of Cardinal *Frederick Borromei*, then Secretary of State. He only applied himself to the building of a sumptuous Palace in *Isola*, to procure rich Furniture for it, and to manage intelligences at *Rome* for Marriages, Charges, and other small affairs that concerned either the Palace, or the Ecclesiastick State.

Nothing that is great, was to be seen in his Projects, nothing high in his Conduct.

Some were pleased to say, that he was but as yet a Novice in foreign affairs; that he had no experience in the Courts, and interests of Princes; that he had not advanced to the Sovereign power by Nunciatures and Legations; that he became Cardinal, by buying the place of Auditor of the Chamber; that he was made Nephew by a Caprice of fortune, and that so he could not acquire a perfect knowledge of what is fit to be known, for entring into commerce with Crowns; that it behoved him to wait till business formed him, and rendred him capable of greater matters.

Others

Others to excuse him, gave it out that Cardinal *Borromei* endeavoured secretly to discredit him with the Pope and Sovereigns, that so he might render himself more necessary to the Church, and gain the good Will and Liking of foreign Princes; that *Borromei* easily engaged the Pope in matters which he knew were not agreeable to *Altieri*, to draw upon him the displeasure of Princes, by the repugnancy that he would shew, when the matter was of putting his Holiness pleasure in execution; that he laid the blame of all the difficulties which the Ministers met with at the Palace, in prosecution of their Masters affairs upon the Nephew; that Cardinal *Altieri* perceived it, but that he chose rather to be a publick sacrifice, than to displease the Pope, by open resentments against *Borromei*, for whom his Holiness had esteem and friendship: and by such discourses they excused his conduct.

Some there were, that would have had the indifferency of Cardinal *Altieri*, pass for a politick Fetch: they said that *Rome* used first to be solicited, before it medled in the affairs of Princes; that *Innocent* the X. found the benefit of following that maxime, (*Che il mondo si governa da se;*) that the world should govern it self, and that the only way

way is to let it goe as it goes; what measures were to be taken with the Crown of *Spain*, under the Government of a Regent, a Pupil, and several Ministers, who had not too good intelligence among themselves? what was to be done with the most Christian King, unless it were to attract the jealousy of all other Christian Princes, who could not already endure his too great power? In a word, that the Court of *Rome* could gain nothing with Potentates when they prevented them; that on the contrary they would make their advantage with them by valuing dear their correspondence to the desires of his Holiness; as they had many instances on several occasions, where the Holy See had always remitted of its Rights and Authority, by Indulgences, Favours, and priviledges, which it had been obliged to grant to several Princes.

So that he did very well not to meddle in the interests and affairs of Princes.

But to speak the truth, these reflexions had but little force with knowing men, to justify the honour of *Altieri*.

In the first place, though he had not passed through the employments which prepare men for the management of forreign affairs, yet it is known that the *Italian Nation* has naturally a great talent for Negotiation

tiation, and that they wonderfully succeed in it, provided they apply themselves a little thereunto: other Nephews have been known young enough, who left a glorious memory of their Ministry, and who had with honor dispatched greatest affairs in most troublesome times, as the *Farnese's*, the *Borromei's*, *Aldobrandini's*, *Borgheses*, and the *Barberini's*.

As to what was said of Cardinal *Borromei*, Secretary of State; it is certain, *Altieri* had no much liking to him, perhaps, because he was a man of too great merit, that he alone clouded him with the Pope, and was the only person in whom his Holiness put greatest confidence, as he had sufficiently testified, by honouring him with the charge of Secretary of State, and shortly after with a Cardinals Hat: but however *Borromei* was a Minister subordinate to the Nephew, without whom, by consequence, he could do or act nothing; and matters abroad going ill, the fault would be imputed to none but the chief mover; besides, since the death of *Borromei*, matters are gone far worse than before.

As to the Romish maxime, of letting the world goe as it goes, and the risque that the Holy See runs, of losing rather than gaining, when that Court entangles it

it self in the affairs of Princes, many things might be said, but it is sufficient at present to averr openly, that that maxim is low and unworthy of a Universal Bishop, who by that very name is obliged to take care of the necessities of Christendom; that it is a pernicious maxime, introduced only by those, or for those, who mind nothing in the Papacy, but that which flatters Vanity, Avarice, and Sensualitie: that it is prophane, and for those only, of whom the Royal Prophet speaks with disdain, *in laboribus hominum non sunt*; who avoid taking a share in the labour and care, to which humane state is obnoxious; that the Holy See never prospered so well, as with Emperors and Kings, to whom it hath had its recourse; whence came the Patrimony of *St. Peter*? from whence the Hexarchat of *Ravenna* and *Romania*? from whence all the Lands and Territories of the Ecclesiastick State? from whence, in a word, the maintaining of the obedience, and homage rendred to the Church? if not from their correspondence and good intelligence with Christian Princes? what have the Popes ever given them of theirs? What have Monarchs ever demanded of them, unless it be some indults for providing and presenting to the Benefices of their Dominions?

Some Tithes for the pressing necessities of Religion? Some Indulgences for the edification of their people? But what Benefices are better filled than those to which these Princes present? What Money better employed than what has been granted them upon the Rents of the Church? And what Spiritual Treasures better bestowed, than what has been given to people who have so much respect and veneration for Holy things? so that all these shadows disappearing, and these pretexts ceasing in the Nephew of a Pope, and especially as to Cardinal *Altieri*, it was concluded that for great affairs his Talent was not great; that all his ambition was confined to the making of his Family by Romish Intrigues; and that he had no stomach as the Spaniards say, *Por digerir los boccones grandes*, to digest great pieces.

In effect, if we impartially consider, either that he hath let slip so many fair opportunities of signalizing himself, or that he has brought upon himself so many unlucky hits, without thinking on them; we may easily judge, that he hath been as indifferent for the one, as improvident against the others. Let us see then both the chief opportunities of renown, which he hath failed to embrace; and the occasions of dis-
quiet

quiet and perplexity, into which he hath thrown himself, that we may make good a truth which will justifie a great many, without doing wrong to his conduct.

We must lay down for a ground then, the state of the affairs of *Europe*, at the beginning of that Pontificat, to wit, *France* and *Spain* at peace together, the enterprises of the Turk against *Poland*; and the preparations of *France* against *Holland*.

What projects might Cardinal *Altieri* have had in that conjuncture? or rather what might he not have undertaken? if the matter was to assist *Poland* against the Turk; what means were wanting to him, Peace being between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*? or if that peace seemed overcast by some clouds of jealousies and fears, there was no difficulty to confirm a serenity in all the climats of Christendom, before these clouds gathered more, and grew thicker, and before they broke out in thunder and lightning in many places of the world, as since they have done.

What advances did he make for the assistance of *Poland*? what Legations for the union of Christian Princes? what Negotiations to make them turn their Arms against the Common Enemy? he made no other step, than the raising of vast sums of Money

of the Benefices of *Italy*, whereof he very slowly sent to the Republic of *Poland*, Fifty thousand Crowns. A Cardinal of great virtue, scandalized at the lukewarmness of *Altieri*, sent him a considerable sum of his own Money to awaken him, and to excite him to make some brisk attempt, in favour of a Kingdom exposed as a prey to Infidels; but that secret reproof of backwardness, made no great impression on him. *Cambriz* was already carried by the Turks, before the Poles were in any condition to make head against them; and to compleat their misfortunes, King *Michael* being dead, the Kingdom was divided about the election of a successor to the Crown. Cardinal *Altieri* bestirred himself a little, but at the instigation of the house of *Austria*, and to the end he might back the designs of the *Spaniards*, who were for Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* his succeeding to the Crown, in hopes of making him marry the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, Sister to the Emperor; He caused great offers to be made of Money and assistance, that he might overcome the difficulty, which the Poles might make, by reason of the lowliness of Prince *Charles*, as to fortune, who depended in a great measure on the Court of *Vienna*, and who was not like to have means of supporting the Crown

Crown under the pressing Circumstances: I lay under. Monsieur Bonvizzi the Nuncio, was the life of his designs in Poland, as he had formerly been at Calogne: that Pre-
late who has been always reputed to have a great Heart and small Head, was as suc-
cessful in the one place, as he had been in the other; there was but little regard had for the Packt-Offices of Rome: the Nuncio's proposition was laid aside, and John Sobieski was chose a King, a man ca-
pable to maintain the Crown, both by his consummated prudence, and Heroick cou-
rage.

So that the whole Intrigue was usefess, and served only to disgrace the Holy See, in the person of Altieri, to beget an aver-
sion in several Princes concerned in that Declaration, and to expose his Ministry to the compassion of his friends, and to the derision and hatred of his adversaries.

In truth, if we should enlarge in our re-
flexions upon that Conduct, his measures would seem very obscure: what obliged him in an affair of that consequence, to transgress the bounds of Neutrality, which renders the Pope alike venerable to all par-
ties; which makes him Umpire amongst all Christian Princes; and which places him in the midst of Sovereigns, as the Sun

is among the Planets, to give impartially his light to all the celestial bodies, according as they draw near, or are at distance from him; for the different participation thereof?

Or if he had a mind to leave that neutrality to gain a Crowned Head, why did he not assure himself well first of the success of his enterprize? it is true, if it had succeeded, it would have been of great advantage to him; but he had but few instances of free people, that have ever been willing to accept of a King from the hands of Popes. If they have sometimes given Kings to the kingdom of *Naples*, they had the Sovereign Dominion; but he had less reason to promise himself that from the Republick of *Poland*, which professes a liberty so nice, that it will not so much as accept of Cardinals of that Nation from *Rome*, because that Dignity puts them on a dependence on foreign Princes.

Insomuch, that they who otherwise know the humor of Cardinal *Altieri*, not to be very undertaking, and that he is more ready to Ward than make a Pass, could find no other cause of that procedure, but an excessive compliance with the *Spaniards*; wherein he may have this comfort, that he is not the only Minister or Kinsman of a Pope,

Pope, who hath been out of his measures, in following too implicitly the counsels of the *Spaniards*.

After the election of the King of *Poland*, one may imagine that that Prince had but little obligation to the Court of *Rome*, and especially to Cardinal *Altieri*; so that it was rationally to be believed, that this Nephew in good policie, yea, even in civility and *decorum*, would take all ways to procure the good Will of a Sovereign, who had some reason not to be well satisfied with him, because his Faction was against him in the Diet,

His Majesty of *Poland* gave him a fair opportunity for this; by naming the Bishop of *Marseilles* to a Cardinalship, who would not be perswaded that there should immediately be dispatched a Gentleman of his Holiness's, or Cardinal *Altier*'s Chamber, to carry a Cardinals Hat to the King of *Poland*, or be disposed of by him, as he thought best, that by such a courteous carriage he might gain the favours of so generous a Prince, and so useful as the King of *Poland* is, in a State where there are different opinions about matters of Religion.

But Cardinal *Altieri*'s eyes are still shut, he cannot but listen to the *Spaniards*; they make him believe that the election of Ge-

neral *Sobieski* to be King of *Poland*, cannot
 subsist; that it was not formal, that con-
 fusion and precipitancy hath more concur-
 red to it, than mature deliberation; that
 it will meet with opposition; that those of
Lithuania have not given their consent
 thereto: that that Prince is married, and
 that the Republick will have a Lord that
 may marry the Queen Dowager of *Poland*;
 that the *Poles* are still doubtful whether that
 election will stand good; that they are di-
 vided among themselves; and that they
 may every minute change their resolution:
 these were the amusements, whereof the
Spaniards made use in general, to dissuade
 Cardinal *Altieri* from complying with the
 new King of *Poland*: and as to the particu-
 lar of the nomination of the Bishop of
Marseilles, they insinuate to him, that *France*
 endeavours to get into the possession of ha-
 ving Cardinals at their devotion, by
 the nomination of, forreign Crowns;
 that he is obliged in interest to oppose such
 an abuse; that the Pope ought to observe
 an equality betwixt *Spain* and *France*; that
 the Catholick King will have ground of be-
 ing offended, if by such ways *French* Car-
 dinals be daily made at *Rome*; that *Poland*
 may be satisfied, that the promotion of
 Cardinal *Bonghi* has been suffered to pass
 with-

without obstruction; that if the Bishop of *Marseilles* be made Cardinal, *Spain* will pretend to the same Compensation as in the promotion of the Bishop of *Laon*; that is, that they must likewise have a Cardinal; that nevertheless, to satisfy the King of *Poland*, and not to reject his proposal, he might willingly accept the nomination for any other person his Majesty pleased, excepting a Frenchman.

Cardinal *Altieri* easily embraced the *Spaniards* Counsel, he had a great inclination for them; and though the Bishop of *Marseilles* in his journey into *Italy*, (whither the King had sent him, to endeavor an accommodation betwixt the great Duchess of *Tuscany* and the great Duke her Husband) made a progress to *Rome*, and by his good qualities left favourable impressions for his fortune; nevertheless he had the ill luck to have been named by a King for whom the *Spaniards* had no liking; in a time when the Nephew Regnant was in very bad correspondence with the Ministers of *France*, and in a conjuncture when Cardinal *Ursini* Protector of *Poland*, was not in too much credit at the Palace, because he had engaged in the Intrigues of the Marriage of the Princess *Cesarini*,

Altieri

Altieri then took the course the *Spaniards* had proposed to him; he wrote a Letter to the King of *Poland*, sending therewith a Brief to his Holiness, in which, having accepted of his nomination, he prayed him to afford his Holiness the means of giving him content, as it was his purpose and desire to do, without mentioning the cause that opposed the fulfilling of his demands, as to the Bishop of *Marseilles*: to these Letters he added private Instructions to the Nuncio, that he should acquaint the King, that the Jealousie of the *Spaniards* was an impediment to the promotion of the Bishop of *Marseilles*; that his Majesty would oblige his Holiness, if he would cast his eyes upon some Neutral Person, with whom all parties might be satisfied; that that condescension would still engage his Holiness to use endeavors for the ease of the Kingdom of *Poland* from the pressures under which it lay.

The King was very ill pleased at the way how the Court of *Rome* used him: it seemed strange to him how these men, who set always to work to advance another to the Crown, should have still the Countenance to refuse him a Hat at the instigation of those who were jealous of his greatness; that they had the baseness to barter and
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truck with him by selfish propositions below the greatness of his mind, as well as the dignity of the Apostolick See: that they should take the liberty to contradict the choice he had made of one who was very dear unto him upon many considerations, and who ought to be more so to the Court of *Rome* by his merit and virtue. He remained constant in the Nomination of the Bishop of *Marseilles*; and *Altieri* to this present has forborn as much as he could, to give him that reasonable satisfaction, by protracting the promotion of Crowns.

There has been nothing conspicuous in all this conduct of *Altieri* with *Poland*, but a passion to content the *Spaniards*, or at least a desire not to displease them; and though that has some colour in the eyes of those who endeavour to excuse him, saying, It is impossible for a Popes Nephew to preserve the favour of all parties; that it is sufficient to adhere to the chief branches of the Tree, and to keep himself in good intelligence with *Spain*, who have more means of offending, and less facility to forget and pardon: yet more quaint Politicians could have given a counsel, whereby *Altieri* might have had the advantage, of contenting his Majesty of *Poland*; without offending the *Spaniards*; and that is, to have perswaded the

the Pope to have prevented the demand of the King of *Poland*, upon his assumption to the Crown, by offering him a Hat, to be disposed of in favours of whom he pleased: the *Spaniards* would have had nothing to say against that engagement; and then if the King of *Poland* had named the Bishop of *Marseilles*, their mouths would have been stopped, by telling them, that the Pope could not excuse himself from fulfilling what he had absolutely promised; not foreseeing that his Majesty of *Poland* would nominate the Bishop of *Marseilles*.

But, at *Rome*, they want not skill to find out biases, when they have a mind to do things with good grace; nor excuses neither when they have any reluctancy: and as to what is said, touching the difficulty that the Nephew of a Pope meets with, in giving content to all parties, I could make appear, that there is nothing more easie for an impartial and unprejudiced Nephew, whereof we have fresh instances in the Pontificat of *Clement* the Ninth, and in the conduct of his Relations.

We shall leave it to the World to Judge of the whole piece by this Pattern; and to time to discover the bad texture of it; that we may proceed to make reflexions on some other occasions, wherein that Cardi-

nal Nephew might have made appear his zeal and wisdom, and by illustrious actions, have raised the glory of his Uncles Papacy, and the honour of his own Ministry.

There was no man but knew what great preparations the *French King* made for a War against the *Hollanders*, that he might endeavour to reduce that Republick to their natural duty, of acknowledging, that in part it holds of his Crown, both the ground of its liberty, and the establishment of its fortune. It is likewise known, that with the same hand the King would restore the liberty of the Catholick Religion, in a Countrey where it is had in horror.

In fine, the effects of this was shortly seen, by a great many Churches reconsecrated, both in the Towns and Countrey of four Provinces, conquered within the space of a few weeks.

All Catholicks triumphed at the progress of the most Christian Kings Arms; and many gave publick thanks to Heaven for the success.

What is it Cardinal *Altieri* will not do, to give marks of his Joy and Acknowledgments? What honour will accrue to his Ministry, and his Uncles Pontificat, when succeeding ages shall see in the Annals, *Holland* reduced to the obedience of the Holy

Holy See, or at least the liberty of Religion reestablished under Pope *Clement* the X, and the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ* so sensibly enlarged under the reign of *Altieri*? What Festivals, What Publick Rejoycings, What Inscriptions, What Medals, to render such actions immortal? if Pope *Pius* the Fifth left engraven on Medalls the Victory of *Lepanto*, which cost so much to the Holy See and to all Christendom, without much fruit: What will not *Clement* the X. do, for the swift course of so many Victories with so little blood, attended with considerable advantages? If *Clement* the Eighth filled *Rome* with Marbles, which carried the memory of the return of *Henry the Fourth* into the bosome of the Church; What ought not *Clement* the Tenth to do for the reduction of *Holland*? If Pope *Barbarini* abridged the Ocean into a Bason, in form of a Bark, which he caused to be made at the foot of Mount *Pincius*, where stands a Convent of *French Minims*, in memory of the taking of *Rochel*; What Illustrious Monuments will not Pope *Altieri* leave to posterity, not for one single Town, but for so many conquered Provinces? In fine, if Popes, in conjunctures of less importance and glory, have contributed to their uttermost for the maintaining of armes, whence

soever they thought Religion therein concerned; either in furnishing of men and Money; or else by Legations, wherein they employed Prelates of greatest worth: if their Nephews have abandoned their own interests, if they have gone themselves in person; What efforts are there not to be expected from Cardinal *Altieri*, for advancing the progress of *Holland*?

Let us observe his conduct. In the year 1671, the most Christian King sends the Abbot *Bardi-magalotti* to the Princes of *Italy*, to treat with them about the raising of an *Italian* Regiment; to be entertained by his most Christian Majesty amongst his foreign Forces: I might say somewhat of the different dispositions he found several Princes in, according as they stood variously affected towards that proposition, led by the *Maximes* of a Countrey, where Sovereigns are obliged to be cautious in their measures for preserving their liberty, without offending of those who are more powerful than themselves.

But we shall handle that at length in a separate treaty. The Abbot *Bardi* without doubt might expect any thing of Cardinal *Altieri*; he could not be ignorant of the design these Forces were to be employed in; and what secrecie soever was observed in the

the Kings Counsils, yet all *Italy* was already filled with a rumour, that the cloud that was a gathering would break out upon *Holland*. Nevertheless he had the greatest difficulty in the world to obtain leave to leavie men in the Ecclesiastick State; nor was it granted but on most disadvantageous conditions, because no Tradesman, Master, or Journey-man, could be listed, nor were Drums to be beaten up. So that there remained none to be listed but Vagabonds, who might safely run away, after they had taken the Kings Money, the Authority of the King having no force there: the rest of the Princes of *Italy* following the example of *Rome*; and having suffered the Levies to be made within their States, upon the same and no other conditions, it is no wonder if *Italy* was quickly full of deserters, and that they who remained, did afterward so little honour to their *Nation*.

From that very time it was perceived, that with reluctancy he concurred with the designs of the King, so far from shewing himself forward to second them; and that the Jealousie of the *Spaniards* prevailed more on him, than all the considerations of the glory and advantage of the Holy See. I wave the artifices that were employed to dissuade many Gentlemen, who on such occasion

caſion would have been willing to have ſerved their apprenticeship in the trade of War under ſuch a King; ſome of whom I know and could name.

But let us trace the Politicks of Cardinal *Altieri*: perhaps he hath done nothing hitherto, becauſe he knew not where all the preparations of the War were to be employed; he is to be excuſed; the King conceales his projects, all Sovereigns are in ſuſpence expecting the iſſue. Who knows but theſe numerous Forces may paſs the *Alpes*? if that Fleet may not bend its courſe towards *Italy*?

It may be he reſerves himſelf to make ſome generous declaration, when he ſhall ſee the King march againſt *Holland*; when he ſhall underſtand that he cauſes Churches to be opened and conſecrated in ſo many conquered places; when he ſhall be informed that Eccleſiaſtick Princes are reſtored to their States, which were uſurped by a Proteſtant Republick: then ſome ſignal mark of reſentment is to be expected from the Court of *Rome*, and ſome great testimony of correſpondence with the actions of a Monarch, that labours more for the Church than for himſelf.

In a ſmall time they had the news at *Rome* of all that I have ſaid of the progreſs

of the French Forces, but nothing of what might have been expected from Cardinal *Albani* appears: The French Ambassador daily carried him the news of some Conquest, and he seemed insensible at the general good fortune of all Catholics: he understood that the Waters made way to the *Israelites*; that the *Egyptians* were buried in them; that the enemies fled before the face of the God of *Israel*; and he was either deaf or dumb, as to Songs of Joy, and public Thanksgivings.

He stops not there, he cannot disguise his secret reluctance to the advices he receives of so many Victories; he lessens the glory of them as much as possibly he can: and had he had power over the same that was published by all mouths, he would have condemned it to perpetual silence.

These are no exaggerations; they are real truths, all the Court of *Rome*, and all *Italy* it self knew what happened one day, when he was told of the passage over the *Rhine*, and of the brave exploits that accompanied, and followed that famous action. He threw it away as a *Grecian Fable*, and would not believe one word of it: He said publicly that there was no such thing; and that he had better intelligence how affairs went. The French Ambassador

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was offended at this obstinacy: A Minister of that quality is obliged to make good what he says: and seeing his steps are well observed, especially at Rome, so ought he to take good heed how he walks: it would be a dishonour to his Character to give out any thing that must be again retracted; though the Spaniards are not so scrupulous in such matters, witness the news that Cardinal Nitard a few Moneths agoe brought to the Palace, of an imaginary Victory obtained by the Spaniards in the Sicilian Sea.

It behoved then the Duke D'Effrees to know of Cardinal Altieri himself, from whence he could have news contrary to what he had told. Altieri was in a puzzle: on the one side he was unwilling to discover a little commerce that he entertained with Bonvisi, at that time Nuncio at Cologne: on the other side, he must satisfy the Ambassador at France, who complained, that there was so little esteem testified for actions that were so advantageous to Religion; and, Who would have made appear his Repentments, if he had not had the satisfaction which he justly pretended to have: In so much, that Altieri was obliged to shew him a Letter of the Nuncio Bonvisi, by which was discovered their Plot,

and little Intrigue, to lessen the Reputation of the Kings actions, and to put off the publick Rejoycings : that Letter came not into the hands of any man, but the substance of it was known ; it spake not of the particular actions of the times, but onely bore, that all that was published of the Grandeurs of *France*, was not to be believed ; that his Conquests commonly would but prove a blaze of Straw, and that there was not much to be built upon them ; that all the Princes of *Germany* began already to stir ; that the King of *England* would withdraw ; that *Spain* and the whole Empire would unite, and that so all the progresses of the most Christian King were like to turn to smoak. This Letter of *Bonvisi* made the Sentiments of *Altieri* apparent enough, because a Minister at a distance from his Master, makes it his whole study to second his thoughts, but that appeared more clearly afterward ; for *Bonvisi* finding himself charged by *Altieri*, was constrained, for his own Justification, to say, that he did nothing but by his order, and direction.

The truth is, the actions of the most Christian King, especially in the first Campaign against *Holland*, will hardly be believed in future ages : but it will be still more incredible that the Nephew of a Pope hath

hath been so insensible of the great good that redounded therefrom to the Holy See, that he would receive the news with indifference, nay even with reluctancy; that he suffered it to be said in *Rome*, that the Popes Palace was Dutchified, for that was the word all the Town over; though it did not in the least move him, because he was conscious to himself that he gave ground for such a report; that he was not sensible of his own, nor of his Uncles honour; that he had sacrificed it to the *Spaniards* who were Jealous of the greatness of *France*. Some excused him upon the account of the bad intelligence that was betwixt him and the Duke *d'Estree*, they said, that these two did what they could to serve one another daily some trick, as a mark of their spight. But, What policy is there in that, not to distinguish the private aversion that one hath for a Minister, from the obligation that is due to the Master whom he serves? Would he not have done far better both for the Pope and himself, to have entertained an intelligence with the most Christian King, notwithstanding all the discontents that he pretended to receive from the Ambassadour? Was not that a powerful means to have thrown the wrong up- the Ambassadour himself, which has suc-

ceeded with other Nephews, when they had any variance with his Majesties Ministers.

It must be acknowledged then, that Cardinal *Altieri* hath shewn but very little conduct in drawing advantage from the War in *Holland*; and far less zeal for the glory of the Pontificate, and of his own reign; of which no cause can be given but a too great deference to the sentiments of *Spain*, and an intire dependency of its Ministers, which have made him forget the part of the person he represents, that he may act theirs, to the expence of his honour, and perhaps of his repose.

This likewise hath made him let slip another conjuncture, wherein he might have signalized himself as much, as in the preceding.

It is known, that after the great advantages gained on *Holland*, it was an easie matter to have hindered the fire from spreading, as it hath done since amongst most of Christian Princes: the King of *France*, though encouraged by so much fortunate success, was still so much Master of himself, as to put a stop to the carriere of his Victories: he had enough in his hands to do himself and his Allies Justice, by bringing down those that had provoked him: the United Provinces would have willingly

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consented to it; *England* had withdrawn; the Princes of the Empire saw nothing to be got by a rupture, what Jealousie soever they had of the neighbourhood of the French Forces.

The Sovereigns stood looking at one another, there was time enough to have brought them to an accommodation, the question was onely to find a Mediator: None durst be the first to break and declare; at *Rome* the Ministers of the Emperour, the most Christian and Catholick Kings were observed to confer together at the breaking up of Chappels, and other Assemblies where they were; In the mean time it was publickly talked at the Palace, that the Treaty of *Munster* was to be broken; that the Emperor, Princes of *Germany*, and *Spain*, were ready to declare War: but that delayed a long time, and it seemed they expected some Umpire to make them Friends.

How happy an occasion for the Nephew of a Pope to bestir himself for peace! Were not Nuncio's extraordinary, or Legats to be expected then abroad? the *Aldobrandini* and *Barbarini*, forsook their repose and interests for Reconciliations of less consequence; they have been seen pass Seas and Mountains for affairs less conside-

nable to Christendom : not to speak of other Nephews, and of *Popes* themselves, who have testified zeal for the Union of Christian Princes. What advantage would it have been to have hindered that rupture before it broke forth ? the exercise of the Catholic Religion remained free in *Holland*, at least in the Provinces where it was already restored ; the Arms of the French King would be turned against the *Turks* ; *Poland* would be secured from the Invasion of Infidels : In a word, all people would have enjoyed the tranquillity which since they have lost.

Cardinal *Altieri* makes no reflexion on all these things ; all his Intrigues at that time were confined to a second Marriage for his Family. He would once more have the Duke of *Anticoli* Marry a Maid of his Family, and all his care is taken up in building of a Palace, whose Magnificence obscures one of the stateliest Churches in *Rome*.

But a more powerful cause than this wrought upon his mind, to take him off from the thoughts of endeavouring to procure peace, and of quenching the fire that broke out shortly after. The *Spaniards* suggest to him, that that peace will be of no advantage to *Christendome* ; that the King of *France* having done his business with the *Hollanders*, will turn his Arms against the

the *Spanish Netherlands*, or against the Empire, or some other of his Neighbours; that the King of *England* had already withdrawn himself; that the Emperor, and whole Empire, stood for them; that they will force the most Christian King to restore what he hath taken from his neighbours; and that in a word, it was the common interest of all Sovereign Princes, and of the Pope himself, to keep *France* in play and cut out work for his Forces, which began equally to be suspected by all.

It was no hard matter for them to make impression on the mind of *Altieri*, who had already fully espoused their party, and who could not disguise his secret discontent for the bitter morsels the French Ambassador had made him swallow. Inasmuch, that with much indifferency he let slip a conjuncture, wherein he might have gained so much esteem; by diverting the inconveniences of a War, the commotions whereof are at present so fatal, both to the Interest of the Church, and the repose of all *Europe*: and, as he had testified but little Joy for the Conquests which the most Christian King had made for the Church in the United Provinces, so he shewed but little grief, either for the losses that followed, when his Majesty united all his Forces to defend himself against his enemies.

And these are, in my opinion, the most
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considerable overtares, whereby Cardinal *Paluzzi-Altieri* might have acquired glory and reputation.

But, all this hath contributed, not onely to make him lose so many fair occasions, but likewise to draw upon himself troubles; which we shall presently speak of.

When in the beginning of this Pontificate, men saw Cardinal *Paluzzi*, invested in the name of *Altieri*, the quality of Nephew, and by consequence in the authority that is annexed to it, they had ground to be perswaded, that if his Ministry would not be very illustrious, it would at least prove peaceable and quiet; it was presumed that a Nephew by Favour, or Adoption, and not by Nature or Blood, which exposed him for that reason to the envy of many, would so behave himself, that no man might have cause to except against him; that therefore he would make it his study to give content to allay, or at least to avoid the occasions of misunderstanding with the Ministers of Princes. But fortune has this inseparable property, that if she raise a man all of a suddain, she makes him forget what he owes, both to himself, and the rest of mankind.

Cardinal *Altieri* is without doubt, a man of Wit and Sense; but it is quickly found, that setting aside his own Family, all other
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men were nothing to him. Pride or Vanity did not raise in him sentiments of contempt; but his forwardness to make his Family, made him forget the considerations of the rank which he held; all that he looked upon in the Papacy, was the great age of the Pope, and the means of making the best of his time for raising his Relations; and because he was perswaded that his Reign would not last long, he resolved to make the best use of it he could: that made him take short measures, to make Hay whilst the Sun did shine; and upon that principle he wholly neglected Forreign affairs, that he might apply himself to Domestick.

It is no wonder then, that he made it his business to delay the granting of the demands that were made to him, that by the protracting of time, he might be disengaged from his promise, if the Pope should die; whilst in the interim he made use of the time for the advancement of his own interests.

For my part, this seems to me to have been the chief aim of his Conduct, which is sufficiently to be discovered in his most remarkable actions: for what could he expect; for instance; from the difficulties that he started upon the promotion of the Bishop of Laon, from the delays he spun out
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in that of the Abbot *Rospigliosi*, as he does still in the promotion of the Bishop of *Mar-seilles*; yea, and in the nomination of Crowns? unless it be, that the Pope who is old, happening to die, he may be exempted from giving them satisfaction, whilst in the mean time he fills the vacant places with others, who are at his Devotion.

This maxime of making Hay whilst the Sun shines, is very common in *Italy* and *Spain*; where men trust much to time; and it often succeeds with Northern Nations, whom the *Italians* entertain with good words, and amuse with trifles, until they be tired out with the length of time and delays, which to them is insupportable; that so they may either remit their pretensions, or that the face of affairs being changed by time, there remains no more engagement on either side.

Cardinal *Altieri* had found the benefit of that policy, if the Reign of *Clement* the X. had lasted but two or three years, he had already in a short time made both himself and his Family; he had obtained for himself a Revenue of an hundred thousand Crowns a year, by Charges, Benefices, and Pensions: Dom. *Gasparo Altieri* his Brother, had almost as much; he had strengthened his Family by the alliances which we have mentioned

mentioned before; and though he had not many creatures in the sacred Colledge, most of the Cardinals whom he had raised, being but little obliged to him for their promotion; and none of those in whom he could confide, being Papable; yet it might have been easie for him to make a party in a Conclave, either by owning the *Spanish* Faction, or listing himself among the Squadron Volant: if without the Ecclesiastick he had no good correspondence with Princes, yet he had carried himself so cunningly, as not to fall into open variance with them: So that if the Pope had died within that time, *Altieri* was warm enough, without being entangled with Sovereigns; and he was free from the reproach of having neglected the past conjunctures, because the short continuance of the Pope, would have served him for an excuse.

But he forsook not the consequences, which that conduct, which only looks to the present, draws after it.

So that bad policy can only be attributed to so many troublesome affairs, that many Ministers in divers times, and in several states have drawn upon themselves: and not to trouble our selves with other examples; we have a very formal and fresh instance of this in the person of Cardinal *Altieri*,

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sieri, upon occasion of the late contest he hath had with the Ministers of Crowns, and especially with the Ambassador of France.

It was no trouble to him on many occasions, to discontent the Sacred Colledge, by refusing several Cardinals, the Favours or Benefices that they demanded for their Creatures, applying them all to himself; or having disposed of them, only by the way of traffick. that was settled in the Pallace: yea, and in many rencounters, it was but the least of his study to comply with the *Spaniards*; and though he was wholly theirs, yet he hath let them see, that interest alone regulates his inclinations. But the Princes of *Italy* have but little cause to be satisfied with him; and in a word, all Christendom stands amazed at his indifference and coldness in the most pressing necessities. On all occasions he hath shewed himself against *France*; but particularly in the provision of the Generallship of the Order of *St. Lazarus*.

That Dignity had been for some time vacant, and I pretend not to decide whose right it was to present to it; it is enough that the most Christian King had a design of uniting that Order, and of erecting it into a new one, according to the Model that

that had been made to the King: so that his Majesty having already given a head to the Order, Cardinal *Altieri* judging that to be an enterprize against the Rights of the *Roman* Court, was in some trouble, on whom he should confer that Dignity, tho *Rome* be full of poor Churchmen, that seek their fortune; yet there are but few *French* there in respect of other Nations. The good Order of the *French* Clergy joyned to the priviledges of the Gallican Church, and the rights of Patronage, hinders them from wandring over the *Alps*; and takes from them all hopes of making any advantage there, unless it be some *Bretans*, who obtain Curacies in their Provinces, though with much trouble, and most times without other success, than the carrying home with them provisions, the seeds of everlasting Law-suits: some *Gascons* are likewise there, though with as bad fortune as the others.

Insomuch that there was no man that would accept of being Abbot and General of *St. Lazarus*, for fear of falling into some inconveniencies, by an action that might displease the King: Cardinal *Altieri* made use of a *Gascon* Priest, who went by the Title of *Abbot de la Calambiere*, for filling of that place: having caused many fair offers of protection and support to be made
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to him, if he did accept it; the good Churchman being but a Novice in the affairs of so quaint a Court as that of *Rome*, and who besides had no Estate, sued for the Abby, and obtained it against the advice of all the wise men of the Court, except the party of *Altieri*, who on the contrary, encouraged him, and puffed him up with fair hopes.

The Duke *d'Estrees* exasperated against those who served as instruments to the enterprises of *Altieri*, could not refrain shewing his resentments: he sent for the Scrivener that drew up the Petition, and having severely chid him, caused him to be put in prison; *La Colombiere* met with no better usage, he was forced to lay down his pretended Benefice. But *Altieri* remaining firm, and the Datary refusing to admit of his demission; he retired to the Popes Palace, where he stayed until his departure, subsisting by some assistance that he had from the Apostolick Palace. Some days after that, *Altieri* by absolute authority, caused the Scrivener to be relieved from prison, and complained highly of the liberty the Ambassador had taken, as of an attempt against the authority of the Sovereign, and against one, upon whom he had no jurisdiction. Since that time *La Colombiere*, contrary

trary to the counsel of his friends, returning into *France*; whether he had found that they were weary at the Palace of furnishing him expences, or that he hoped to draw some Benefice from the Court, exposed himself to the mortification of being shut up in the *Bastile*, where he continues at present.

And thus was that little debate in the year 1672. carried on, wherein waving the reflexions that might be made on the conduct of the Ambassador, who had all reason in the world to be offended; the boldness of these two little inconsiderable persons of the Nation, which made them transgress the duty and respect due unto such a Minister, cannot but be blamed; a *Spaniard* or *Italian* would have been careful not to have done the like.

I thought it my duty to leave the whole matter to the consideration of disinterested persons, that they may observe the manner of *Altieri's* carriage, who might have let that matter sleep without any prejudice to the Holy See, and stay till he should be solicited from *France*, for the confirmation of the Kings design concerning the order of *St. Lazarus*, at which time he might have come off with more advantage, without increasing the discontents of the Duke

d'Estrees, yea, and of the King himself, who then bestowed himself so usefully for Religion, by the great exploits of his first Campagne in *Holland*.

This harsh proceeding was quickly followed by what happened, upon occasion of the Marriage of the Lady *Cesarini*, wherein the Ambassador concerned himself as much for baffling Cardinal *Altieri*, and crossing his Intrigues, as for any other consideration that he could have in that marriage, as has been mentioned before.

Much about the same time, the Duke *d'Estrees* discovered the puny commerce that was entertained between *Altieri*, and *Bonvisi*, the Nuncio at *Cologne*, whereof we have likewise spoken. And shortly after *Altieri* made appear his repugnancy, to the promotion of the Bishop of *Marseilles*, upon the nomination of the King of *Poland*.

All these thwartings of Cardinal *Altieri* with the French Ambassador, and his obstinacy towards that Crown, appeared to many people so strange, that they believed, and even gave it out, that the Nephew Regnant would not have proceeded to so many extremities, without the assistance of some one or other at Court, who backed him in his resolutions against the Duke

d'Estrees: they could not comprehend how the humour of *Altieri*, so averie from engaging in any difficult matter, that he even avoided coming to an open rupture with the *Colonna's*, though the Popes Subjects, could resolve to stand it out so long against the Minister of so powerful a Monarch, who makes the greatest shew at *Rome*; they concluded that he must needs have some body about his Majesty, with whom he entertained secret intelligence: and they have been curious enough, to confirm themselves in their thoughts, as to make an exact search of those who might be ill-affected towards the Duke *d'Estrees*, and have drawn therefrom such consequences as they pleased.

But all these imaginations are vain chimeras. The most Christian King is more faithfully served by all, who have any hand in his affairs, than that any about his Majesty can have the thoughts of exercising their private passion to the prejudice of the affairs of such a Master: and besides the small success of other Negotiations, evinces that Cardinal *Altieri* complies as little with the Ministers that are at the Court of *France*, as with those that are at the Court of *Rome*, a sure mark that he takes no great care to engage them.

It must be then concluded, that his conduct, in regard of *France*, is indeed somewhat strange; and that the reason of it must needs proceed from an old habit, hereditary almost to the Court of *Rome*, where they have always promised themselves anything from the facility of the *French*, in forgetting what is past, or from a generosity that makes them think it below them to take exceptions at things which they meet with in a Court made up of Churchmen.

And so much in respect of *France*. As for *Spain*, if that Nation has no great cause to complain, so neither have they much to brag on; of Cardinal *Altieri*, it is apparent what he did, to excuse himself from making Father *Nisard* Cardinal, with the Cardinal *d'Estrees*; and the vast pensions wherewith he chargeth the vacant Benefices in the Dominions of the Catholick King, sufficiently prove, that his friendship is not without interest; it is nevertheless to be acknowledged, that he hath been always inclined to the house of *Austria*, witness his readiness to engage in the matter of the election of the King of *Poland*, and his willingness to follow the motions of the Ministers of *Spain*, who dissuaded him from concerning himself in the cause of the Prince of *Fulderberg*, though named to the Cardinalship

dinalship by his most Christian Majesty, and accepted by the Pope: In a word, he hath in all conjunctures shewed, at least a fear of offending, if he had no desire to oblige them.

Other Sovereigns have found him reserved enough at first, when they presented themselves to him, or intended to engage him to declare himself in matters that were liable to controversie; but when they pressed him home, they obtained what they demanded; and so carried their pretensions, without being obliged to him. In this manner he carried himself with the *Venetians*, about the dispute of the Bank of the River *Po*; with the Great Duke, concerning the affair of the valley of *Chiana*; with the *Genoese*, in the matter of the Inquisitor of *Genoa*; with the Duke of *Savoy*, touching the difficulty of the Nunciature of Monsieur *Durazzi*; and even with the *Colonna's*, though the Popes Subjects, about the marriage of the Lady *Cesarini*.

All these Lords have made appear, that he has no strength, but against those who retreat at his first resistance; and that he easily yields, when he finds himself in the least put to it, though the honor of his Ministry be somewhat concerned in it, especially when he engages himself in matters that
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he cannot maintain. So that, if the Court of *France* had thought fit to stand it out with him; when he undertook to recall the Nuncio *Bargellini*, contrary to their inclination, that Prelate being well beloved there, all that could have been desired might have been obtained. If it had been thought convenient to have pressed him, concerning the restitution of *Castro*, in favour of the Duke of *Parma*, the affair had been ended.

And if he hath condescended in all other occasions, wherein his most Christian Majesty has been willing to testify a real concern, so it would be no hard matter to have satisfaction from him in the present conjuncture of affairs.

He carried himself until the year 1674. in such a manner, that if he neglected to make friends, yet he drew upon himself no open enemies; if he took no great care to content people; provided his private concerns went well, because he had no other prospect in a short liv'd Pontificat; so those that were discontented, forbore to shew their resentments, upon the same consideration, that matters could not go long so. Moreover, he entertained one party with fair promises, and supported the other with dissimulation; the conjuncture being likewise favourable to him in a time

of War and Rupture amongst Christian Princes, who avoided the occasions of cutting themselves out work at Rome, or elsewhere, having enough to do at home.

So that the Nephew Regnant might, according to the saying, *godere il papato*, enjoy the Papacy at his ease; if he had not given a general provocation to all to declare against him.

And this happened by an Edict which he caused to publish and post up, concerning the Customs and Duties of all Commodities, Provisions, Victuals, or other things that are paid at their entry into the Towns of *Italy*.

Cardinals, forreign Ministers and their Families or Domesticks, are exempted from that duty of Entry, for the things they stand in need of, and are sent them in from abroad: but some there are who extend that priviledge, farther than it should reach, abusing it; by managing some little underhand traffick, either by bringing in Goods under their names, or by giving Letters or Patents which are called *of Familiaritie*, by virtue whereof, they, who have them, enjoy the priviledge, as if they were the servants of such an Ambassador, or such a Cardinal.

The Farmers of the Customs have often complained of these abuses, have demanded abatements of their Farm, and have represented the prejudice that arises to the Apostolick chamber, from the knavery practised by several Officers of Cardinals and Ambassadors in that matter. It hath been often considered, how that abuse might be remedied: but no means could be as yet found out, which did not occasion complaints, quarrels, and very many times violences against the Officers of the Custom-house of Rome, who have been badly used, or threatened by the privileged.

About the end of the year 1674. Cardinal *Altieri* perceiving that the year following, which was the Holy year; there would be great confluence of people at Rome, who would flock thither from all parts, to gain the universal Jubile; and that by consequence, more Goods and Provisions than commonly, would be brought thither; had a mind to make his advantage of the Customs, and considerably, to raise the Farm of them: the chief Farmer offered him a good sum of Money, with a considerable parcel of Wine, which in *Italy* is called *Paraguanto*, if for that year he would revoke the privileges and exemptions, granted to persons of all quality and conditions.

ditions. Presently came abroad a very ample Edict, conform to the intention of the former, and was posted up on the usual places of the City, without acquainting those that are concerned therein.

The whole Colledge of Cardinals, all the forreign Ministers with their servants, who by the Edict were deprived of their priviledges, are surprized at such an innovation: they make presently great noise, enter into conferences, and unite together; Cardinal *Altieri* takes no notice of any thing, but lets them grumble and stir: he is told that *Rome* is in a general confusion; is threatened with some dangerous revolution; and he makes answer, that the Pope is Master at home; Messengers are sent to the Palace, to carry the grievances directly to his Holiness, and under various pretexts, he hinders them from having Audience.

The Ambassadors of the Emperor, the most Christian King, the Catholick King, and of the Republick of *Venice*, finding him so insensible of their first motions, agree to goe with their Retinues, in company together, to an extraordinary Audience of his Holiness, without dependance on the Cardinal Nephew, and resolve to be heard at what rate soever: they set out at the same

same time, go to the Pallace of *Montecavallo*, and there present themselves; but, *Altieri*, who was there, being informed of their March, causes the Gates to be shut, and the Chains drawn cross the Streets: he complains of that new way of coming to Audience, without acquainting either the Pope or himself; that it is a surprise, an assault, a kind of violence, and of most dangerous consequence to the respect that is due to the Popes person, and the august place that contains so sacred a pledge.

The Ambassadors return full of indignation, have their meetings together, and consult to attack the Cardinal Nephew in the most sensible part of his Nepotisme; they resolve to take no more notice of him in the Affairs of their Ministry; to deprive him of the honour they do him, in communicating to him the result of their ordinary Audiences; and, in fine, to look upon him no other wayes but as another private Cardinal of the Colledge. With this Project they intend to acquaint their Masters; and that it may not seem a thing affected to gratifie a private Passion, or to put a trick upon the Nephew, they all engage to signe the Copy of the Relation which they should send to their several Masters, with this formality, that the Relati-

on which should go to *France* should be signed by Cardinal *Langrave*, the Emperors Ambassador, Cardinal *Nitard* the Spanish Ambassador, and the Ambassador of *Venice*; that that which was to be sent to *Spain*, should be signed by the Duke *d'Estrees*, and the others; and, in the same manner the rest that should be sent to *Germany* and *Venice*. That was an expedient, to avoid the difficulty of Signing all the same Relation, which could not be done, because the Ambassador of *Spain* would not have Signed under the French Ambassadour, who is in possession of the first place.

These things thus performed, and the Ministers being approved by their Masters, as to what they had resolved: in the first Audience which they had at the Palace, they represented to the Pope, the causes which they had of discontent, the Actions of the Nephew in prejudice of their Privileges; the abuses to which he engaged the authority as well as goodness of his Holiness: the Injury done to their Character, and the resentment they were forced to testify of it, without hurting their respect and duty towards the Holy See, which their Masters knew well to distinguish from the bad Government of Cardinal *Altieri*: they declared to his Holiness, that they pretend-

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ed not to do violence to his inclination, and to the affection he had for Cardinal *Altieri*, but that they could do very well without depending on him, in the exercise of their ministry, whereof he had evidenced so small esteem, by all his proceedings, in what had already past.

The Pope laboured as much as in him lay to pacifie them; and to Justifie the Edict, he represented to them the great necessities of the Apostolick Chamber, engaged in more than Eight and forty Millions of Gold at his coming to the Pontificat; that the suspension of the Priviledges and Exemptions, was onely for the Holy year, which engaged the Chamber still to more extraordinary charges: and that moreover Cardinal *Altieri* and he, had shewen their Moderation, because that under his Reign the Ecclesiastick State had not been charged with any new imposition, a thing which has not happened under many Popes of these last Ages.

These, and such like Discourses of the Pope, which tended onely to Justifie the Nephew, had not the effect which he could have wished. The Audiences being ended, the Ambassadors returned home without going to the Apartment of the Nephew, as the custom is; treated no more with him
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about any business; and took from him the name of *Alfieri*, calling him onely *Paluzzi* in the Titles they gave him, when occasion offered of speaking to him.

This continued for some time, but the Nephew fearing the consequences of an affair of that nature, and finding that it drew upon him the contempt of all the Roman Court, and even of the People, who, when they are discontented, many times imitate the more powerful, that they may shake off their obedience; that Potentates gave no more answers to his Letters, wherewith he accompanied the Briefs of his Holiness; that, in fine, being no more respected of the great Men, he became the object of the Peoples derision, or the compassion of his Friends: he caused a Congregation to be established of unsuspected Cardinals, to consider of the means of giving satisfaction to the Forreign Ministers, with as much safety to his honour as possibly could be had.

I may say by the by, that they commonly refer to Congregations, affairs that they would have prolonged, and I never saw any thing determined by them: they are composed of Men that affect neutrality; but, who are however naturally more inclined to those

those who have given them the Commission: if any of them absent themselves, whole moneths pass over before they meet again, and if death, or any accident carry any one of them off, time is required to agree upon another to be put into the place of him that is gone: in a word, the Papacy commonly expires before they conclude any thing, let the matter of their Deputation be never so easie.

The Congregation that *Altieri* appointed for the satisfaction of the Ambassadors, proposed several expedients, to which they agreed not; when the revocation of the Edict was proposed, they said, that that would be reckoned no satisfaction to them, seeing the Pope was obliged to do so in Justice, and that though he would not revoke it, yet there were but few Officers of the Customs that durst venture to put it in execution against the Ministers.

In effect, whether the Customs had orders from the Palace, to desist from executing it, or that they feared some harsh usage, they altered nothing in the matter of exemptions: And, one day, some Packs and Boxes being sent to Cardinal *Sforza*, and the Carriers being gone to discharge and put them into the Custom-house, his Eminence was offended that they were not
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sent soon enough home to him; he himself went to the Custom-house, and caused them to be carried away, threatening the Popes Officers, without any notice taken thereof in the Palace.

Whilst the Congregation was busie in managing some accommodation; the Ambassadors contrived among themselves wayes to highten more and more their pretensions, and vex the Nephew; they not onely forbore treating with him, but also if they met him in the Town, they caused not their Coaches to stop, as the custom is, but went on without compliment or ceremony. So that Cardinal *Altieri* being one day gone abroad to make some visit, and perceiving the French Ambassadors Coach coming at a distance, he caused the Tossels to be quickly taken off his Horses, that he might pass *incognito*, and so avoid the shame of seeing the Ambassador pass by without receiving the usual civility.

That which surpris'd him most, was, the steadfastness of all the Ministers linked together to cross him; in a time when the Princes their Masters were so hot in action against one another; he could not comprehend how the Ambassadors of the Emperor and *Spain* continued so addicted to second the French Minister, who was the
most

most incensed of all, and who drave the matter farthest.

He let the debate rest some time, to see if they would give over, but perceiving that he gained nothing by that course, he endeavoured underhand to draw off from the party the Cardinals of *Hesse* and *Nitard*; they desired time to communicate the propositions that were made them, to *Madrid* and *Vienna*, that they might thereupon have the opinions of their Princes, who had concerned themselves in the difference. Nevertheless the matter coming into negotiation on each side, they yielded all of a sudden, and condescended to the accommodation which they had disputed, and wherein they found no other advantage, at least that hath been apparent, but a weak protestation of Cardinal *Nitard*, that it was never in his thoughts to offend them, and that he was displeased at what had passed, which he did in a visit that was rendered him by the Ambassadors of the Emperor and *Spain*, where they owned him for the Popes Nephew, and in that quality treated with him.

They proceeded not in that, without imparting their resolution to the Ambassadors of *France* and *Venice*, and it was no difficult matter for them to draw the latter

ter into their party, who might very lawfully rest contented with the satisfaction that pleased the other two: But, the Duke *d'Estrees* let them take their course, and told them that his Master had other pretensions and motives not to be content with the conduct of *Altieri*; that though the satisfaction which they accepted were sufficient to repara what had happened upon the account of the *dict* (which nevertheless he could hardly be perswaded of) yet he would not admit of it, unless he had the other satisfactions which the King pretended to be his due.

It is not known by what Maxim of policy the Ministers of *Spain* so suddenly remitted their pretensions, seeing they have the esteem not to let go their hold easily, and to be more firm and stedfast than the French, especially in matter of resentment and revenge; the Politicks of that change, after so publick and solemn declarations, cannot be observed. All that can be said of it, is, that by so low a compliance they intended to make their Court, and leave the Duke *d'Estrees* in the lurch,

Some, without any ground, have been pleased to say, that Cardinal *Altieri* gained

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the *Spaniards*, by giving them hopes of assisting them under-hand for the recovery of *Messina*, or that at least they yielded easily to him, that by gaining the Pope in condescending to *Altieri*, they believed they might hamper the Duke d'*Estrees*, and put him in the wrong, giving out that the *French Nation* is never content, that they are troublesome every where, and insupportable in all places where they can have footing. This they put the *Italians* in head of; but they are not now adays so apt to believe these suggestions; seeing it is a Proverb with them, that *Sono morti tutti i mutti francesi, e tutti i savy spagnuoli*: That all the *French Fools* are dead, and all the *Wise Spaniards*.

They have proofes of this by the reputation and wise conduct which the King has held at *Rome* for some time, wherein that Court has perceived that there is nothing now to be got of the *French*, by the Maxim heretofore observed, of tiring them out by length of time, and so prevailing on their natural impatience.

This hath made Cardinal *Altieri* yield, and to use the recommendations and intercessions of Friends with his Majesty, in the present

present affaires; from which, good success may be expected, if the Pope live any time, and when he shall die, it will give a great stroak for the satisfaction of his Majesty, in a Court which is wholly governed by example, and in the most important deliberations looks alwayes back to what hath been done in times past.



CHAP. VI.

I have oblig'd me to turn mine eyes on that, which, in my opinion, is most remarkable at all times in the Court of Rome, and especially during the vacancy of the See. This will be a description full of instruction for those, who either have not seen that Court, or who have spent some time

CHAP. VI.

Of the Conduct of Cardinals, and Ministers, and on what foot they stand in the Court of Rome.



It was my desire to have continued my reflexions on the Conduct of Cardinal *Altieri*; but just, as I was thinking to trace his proceedings, the death of *Clement* the X. which gives another face to the whole Court of *Rome*, hath likewise put that Cardinal and his affairs in a different posture from what they were before: so that the first designe which related to matters that are not of this time, would be useless, and could not now be performed.

That obliges me to turn mine eyes on that, which, in my opinion, is most remarkable at all times in the Court of *Rome*, and especially during the vacancy of the See. This will be a diversion full of Instruction for those, who either have not seen that Court, or who have spent some time

time there, without reflecting on what occurs in it, as it is the case of many men.

That Court, as we have said, is composed of Cardinals and Ministers.

The Cardinals may be divided into a certain number of Parties, which have their several Heads.

The Ministers are divided into Domestic, and Forreign.

A List

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A LIST of the CAR-
DINALS, according to their
Factions in the year 1676.

The First Division of Cardinals.

I. The Barbarini Faction, or the Faction of the Old Colledge.

1. **F**Francis Barbarini, Nephew of Pope **URB/N VIII.** a Florentine, Bishop of *Ostia*, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Dean of the Sacred Colledge, promoted in the year 1623.
 2. **U**lderick Carpegna of *Urbino*, Bishop of *Porto*, in the year 1633.
 3. **J**ulius Gabrieli, a Roman; Bishop of *Sabina*, in the year 1641.
 4. **C**esar Fachinetti, a *Bolonian*, Bishop of *Palustrina*, in the year 1643.
 5. **C**harles Rossetti of *Ferrara*, Bishop of *Faenza*; First Priest Cardinal, 1643.
 6. **C**harles Barbarini, a Roman; of the Creation of *Innocent the X.* in the year 1653.
- II. The

II. The Faction of Innocent X. called the Squadron Volant.

Nicholas Ludovisi, a Bolonian, great Penitentiary, promoted in the year, 1645.

Alderan Cibo, of the Princes of Massa of Carrara, 1645.

Bennet Odescalchi of Coma, in the Duchy of Milan, 1645.

Louis Homodei, a Milanese, 1652.

Peter Onoboni, a Venetian, 1652.

Francis Albrizi of Catena in Romania, 1655.

Decius Azzolini, of Fermo, in the Marche, 1654.

All these are of the Creation of Innocent the X.

III. The Faction, called the Faction of Chigi.

Flavius Chigi a Sieneſe, Nephew of Alexander VII. the Head, 1657.

Jerome Bonviſi of Luca, 1657.

Anthony Bichi, a Sieneſe, 1657.

James Franzone a Genoefe, 1658.

Peter Vidoni of Cremona, 1660.

Gregory Barbrigo a Venetian, Biſhop of Padua. 1660.

Jerome Boncampagni a Bolonian, Archbiſhop of Bologna, 1664.

Alfonſus Luta, a Milanefe, Archbiſhop of Milan, 1664.

Nerius Corſini, a Florentine, 1664.

Charles Bonelli a Roman, 1664.

Celius Piccolomini a Sieneſe, Archbiſhop of Siena, 1664.

Charles Caraffa a Neopolitan, 1664.

John Nicolas Conti a Roman, Biſhop of Acona, 1664.

John Savelli a Roman, 1664.

James Nini, a Sieneſe, 1664.

Julius Spinola, a Genoefe. 1666.

Innigo Caraccioli, a Neopolitan, Archbiſhop of Naples, 1666.

John

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*John Delphini, a Venetian, Patriarch of
Aquila, 1667.*

Sigismond Chigi, a Sieneſe, 1667.

They are all of the Creation of *Alexan-
der the VII.* except *Sigismond Chigi*, who
was promoted by *Clement IX.*

IV.

IV. The Faction of the Rospigliosi.

James Rospigliosi of Pistria, Nephew to
Clement the IX. Head of the Party, 1667.
Charles Cerri a Roman, Bishop of Ferrara,
1669.

Lazarus Palavicini, a Genoese, 1669.

Nicholas Acciaioli a Florentine, 1669.

Bonacorso Bonacorsi of Macerata in the Marche,
1669.

Felix Rospigliosi of Pistoria, 1673.

They are all of the Creation of Clement the
IX. except Felix Rospigliosi, promoted by
Clement X.

VI

V. The

V. The Faction of Altieri.

Paluzzo Paluzzi called *Altieri*, a Roman, Chamberlain, Adoptive Nephew of Clement the X. Head of the Party, 1664.
 Camillus Massini, a Roman, 1670.
 Gaspar Carpegna, a Roman, 1670.
 Vincent Marco Ursini of Gravina, a Roman, 1672.
 Frederick Colonna Waldeſchi, a Piuſan, 1673.
 Francis Nerli, a Florentine, Archbishop of Florence, 1673.
 Jerome Caſtoldi, a Genoese, 1673.
 Jerome Caſanata, a Neapolitan, 1673.
 Peter Baſadonna, a Venetian, 1673.
 Alexander Creſcentio, a Roman, 1675.
 Galeazzo Mareſcotti, a Bolonian, 1675.
 Bernardin Racci, a Roman, 1675.
 Marius Albritii, a Neapolitan, 1675.
 Febrinius Spada, a Roman, 1675.
 Philip Thomas Howard of Norfolk, an Engliſhman, 1675.

They are all of the Creation of Clement the X. except *Paluzzi* their Head, who was promoted by *Alexander VII.*

VI. The French Faction.

Virginius Ursini a Roman, Comprotector of France, Protector of Poland and Portugal, of the Creation of Urban VIII. 1641.

Jerome Grimaldi, a Genoese, Archbishop of Aix, of the same Creation, 1643.

John Francis Paul of Goudi de Rers, a Frenchman, of the Creation of Innocent the X. 1652.

Francis Maldachini of Viterba, of the Creation of Innocent the X. 1647.

Emanuel Theodose of Bouillon, a Frenchman, of the Creation of Clement the IX. 1669.

Cesar d'Estree a Frenchman, Bishop of Laon, of the Creation of Clement the X. 1671.

Peter Bonfi, a Florentin, Archbishop of Narbonne, of the Creation of Clement the X. 1672.

VII. The

VII. The Spanish Faction.

L *Aurence Raggi a Genoese*, of the Creation of *Innocent the X.* 1647.

Charles Pio, of Ferrara, of the Creation of *Innocent the X.* 1654.

Frederick Landgrave of Hesse, of the same Creation, 1652.

Paschal of Arragon Archbishop of Toledo, a *Spaniard*, of the Creation of *Alexander the Seventh.* 1660.

Louis of Porto Carrero, a *Spaniard*, of the Creation of *Clement IX.* 1669.

Bernard Gustavus of Baden, a *German*, Abbot of *Fulden*, of the Creation of *Clement the X.* 1671.

John Everard Nitard, a *German*, Jesuite and Confessor to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, 1672.

These are Seven Factions, at present in the Sacred Colledge, who have all different interests, unless they unite upon some Politick Design, as it happens pretty often in the Conclaves. An Eighth might be added to them, to wit the *Florentin*, otherwise called the *Tuscan Faction*; but at present it has no head, there being no Cardinal

nal in the Family of *Medicis*, so that they divide themselves amongst several Factions. They have been almost continually limited to the *Spaniards*, because the Protection of *Spain* was annexed to the Cardinals of *Medicis*.

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These are seven Factions, as present in the sacred College, who have all different interests, which they unite upon some common Design, as it happens pretty often in the Conclaves. An Eighth might be added to them, to wit the *Flamens*, otherwise called the *Italian* Faction; but as present it has no head, there being no Cardinal

THE SECOND DIVISION OF CARDINALS.

THe Cardinals may be again divided into Papable and not Papable.

The Papable Cardinals are such as have all the qualities commonly requisite for being Pope, and who have not those which exclude a Man from the Pontificate.

The qualities commonly requisite for being Pope, are good Manners, at least the appearance of a pious and religious Life, a prudent and wise conduct, free from passion and extravagancies.

2. An advanced Age, above Fifty years at least, or otherways a constitution that promises no long Reign, nor vigorous resolutions, for men are content that a Pope give himself to a quiet life, or as the *Italian* say, *Attenda a vivere e Lasci vivere*, Live and let live; and that it may not happen

happen as in *Alexander* the Sixth, and *Julius* the Second, who put all in a stir, and marched at the head of Armies to carry on their enterprises by embroiling Princes.

3. Kindred of a mild and discreet temper, for avoiding the inconveniences of the Pontificat of *Alexander* the VI, *Paul* the IV. and of several others; for the Plots and Conspiracies of the Duke of *Valentinois*, the son of the first, and the bad actions of the *Caraffa's*, the Nephews of the second, are very well known. This is a very essential point now adayes to render a man Papable, since the Nephews have taken so much authority in governing and disposing of all matters under the Pontificat of their Unckles. In so much, that when any one is proposed to be made Pope, they cast their eyes immediately upon their Kindred, and, if I may so say, examine more carefully their lives, than the life of the Cardinal Proposed. That hindered Cardinal *Bonvisi*, a Man otherwayes most Papable, from mounting the Pontifical Throne, because it was feared that Monsieur *Bonvisi* his Nephew might Reign, whose haughty, fierce, arrogant, and unsociable humour, was had in aversion by all the Court. The number of the Kindred is likewise considered, because many Relations about a Pope drain

drain the Treasure of the Apostolick chamber, and ruine the Ecclesiastick State (already indebted in more than Fifty Millions of *Roman Crowns*) by building of Palaces, buying Estates, and making themselves Princes,

The Qualities which exclude a man from the Papacy, are hereafter deduced, by considering the Cardinals who are not Papable.

The Cardinals not Papable are such as have some quality which excludes them from the Papacy.

These qualities are either essential or accidental.

The essential are linked either to their Person, or Character, as being born Princes, or of a Sovereign House; this is a strong consideration, because it is to be feared, that if a Cardinal Prince were made Pope, he would alienate the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, and dismember it, that he might bestow the same on some or other of his house; that he would transgress the Neutrality which a common Father should observe with all Christian Princes, it being hardly probable that a Pope born a Prince should want engagements, by the Tie of blood and the Interests of his house; to this may be added, that the Cardinals and Prelates

have ground to apprehend, that a Pope, born a Prince, might treat them too imperiously, and despise them.

Another quality which renders a Cardinal not Papable, is to have been promoted at the nomination of some Crown, and especially of that of *France*, or *Spain*, because, if he came to be Pope, he would in gratitude, be obliged to depend much on the sentiments of him, to whom he owed his fortune.

The same may be said of a Cardinal, who is in the *French* or *Spanish* Faction, or who is a Native of *Spain* or *France*; for that reason, excludes likewise from the Pontificat. I give not all the instances that might more confirm the veritie of those maxims.

It is known of fresh date, that *Vidoni* was not Pope in the last Conclave, because he was made Cardinal at the nomination of the King of *Poland*, *John Casimir*, who was since retired into *France*, which by consequence gave Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, and *Chigi*, though he was an *Italian*, and of the creation of *Alexander VII.* the Uncle of *Chigi*.

This

This serves to make good the second maxim, and as to the First, it has been seen, that the Family of the *Roucre* has been Sovereign in the Ecclesiastick State, because there have been two Popes of that House: and the House of *Medicis* is arisen to that powerful pitch, wherein it now is, by the support of the Popes of that Family.

The accidental qualities which exclude from the Pontificat, are many in number; but they are all almost reduceable to those which are contrary to the qualities that render a man Papable, as, the Manners, Conduct, Age, and Kindred. Cardinal *Toschi* missed of being Pope, because he was too free in his Speech, and had almost always in his mouth a certain word, which did not suite with a man of his character, though it be very common amongst the *Italians*, and especially the *Lombards*.

As to Age, besides that that is much lookt upon in *Italy* for all charges, it is particularly eyed for the Pontificat; because of the consequences that attend it, to wit, Gravity, Reverence, Veneration, Authority, and many other considerations which are annexed to old Age.

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As to the Kindred, we have the instance of the ill-instructed Children of Eli the High-Priest, who occasion'd the scandal mention'd in Scripture, by their gluttony and avarice, and brought down the Curse of God upon themselves and their Father. I shall not instance the modern examples of Nephews, who behave themselves in the same manner.

There are many other reflexions that may be made on more remote qualities, which very many times do no less exclude a Cardinal from the Papacy; for, at Rome, every thing is ript up, as if by his conduct he hath offended the French or Spaniards, or those who have most voices in the Election of the Pope, if he be partial as to any one, and a thousand other considerations.

Having, in general considered the Cardinals according to their different Factions, and the qualities that may give them hopes to aspire to the Pontificat, or that exclude them from it: my design was to give the curious a third division of the Cardinals, that at present constitute the Sacred Colledge, who may aspire to the triple Crown, or who may not; exposing to view the particular qualities of every one of them

them, which render them worthy of, or exclude them from that Supream degree. But, some private considerations concurring with the desires of many worthy people, whose instances I could not reject, are the cause why I separate that work from this present Book, promising to publish it with the first opportunity, together with the Intrigue of the Ministers of Crowns.

F I N I S.